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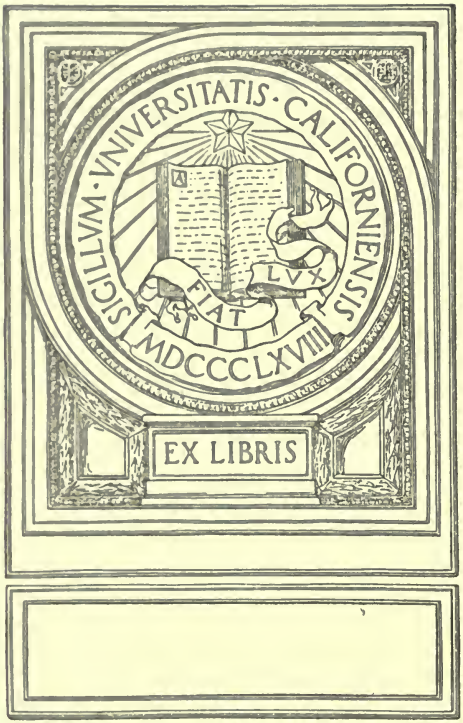
THE UNPROTECTED OR MISTAKES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY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THE UNPROTECTED;

OR,

Mistakes of the Republican Party

BY

BRYAN W. HERRING.

WITH INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

DEDICATED TO

THE UNPROTECTED

BY

AFRICO-AMERICAN.

PRICE, $1.50.

HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,
PHILADELPHIA, PA. ST. LOUIS, MO. RICHMOND, VA.
1892.

UNIV OF
CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

WHEN a king misgoverns his people he is held responsible, but the people in a republic are responsible for their own misgovernment. It is the duty, therefore, for all of us to study our political history, so that we may become better informed and consequently be more competent to govern ourselves wisely.

All who neglect that duty shall be classed with the ignorant, and they will become a by-word and reproach among all enlightened men, for an amendment of the Constitution was enacted to give the ignorant the great and glorious privilege of voting, so that they might become the victims of their own weakness and folly. But in order to avoid the "pit-falls" intended for them the enlightened are compelled to instruct their less fortunate fellows, and those who neglect that duty are equally

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responsible with the ignorant for misgovernment. So, in presenting the mistakes of the Republican party to the public, no one can charge me with neglect of duty.

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

DEDICATED TO THE UNPROTECTED.

ALTHOUGH my enemies say that I have no gratitude, they know that I have never raised my hand against my master and true white friend, who led me from a heathen god to the Christian Church and taught me the useful arts of civilization.

Justice rewards everybody for the good they do, and inasmuch as he rescued me from heathenism, I now come to his relief and pay the Protective Tariff Tax and keep the mortgages off the Southern farms; and I shall remain in the South and continue to advance my civilization and live in peace with my true white friends for all time to come, for the good influence of the whites counteract the evil influence of the

blacks, as the good influence of the blacks counteract the evil influence of the whites, and vain will be the effort of the unprotected to resist this decree.

AFRICO-AMERICAN.

List of Authorities Consulted in this Work.

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The Soldiers of Sherman's Army.
The Abolition Bible.
Reminiscences of Lincoln.
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Table of Contents.

PAGE

Preface by the Author, ... 3

Introductory Preface, ... 5

I.—The Three Evil Spirits, ... 9

II.—The Three Political Parties Casting out Devils, . . 15

III.—The Democratic Party, or Equality of White Men, . 34

IV.—The Republican Party, or Money Power, ... 35

V.—The Abolition Party, or Communism, ... 37

VI.—The Causes that Led to the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, ... 41

VII.—Conquering the Northern States under Pretence of Reconstructing the Southern, ... 64

VIII.—The Tempter, ... 70

IX.—Who Were the Victors when the War Closed? . . 74

X.—The Story of the Two Images in the Looking-glass, in which it appears that Abraham Lincoln Saw His Own Ghost; Comments thereon by His Old Friend, Alex. H. Stephens, ... 119

XI.—A History of the Rise and Progress of the Manufacturing Business in the South, ... 127

XII.—Slavery and its Political Significance, ... 155

XIII.—The Mistakes of the Abolition Party, ... 182

XIV.—The Mistakes of the Republican Party, ... 210

XV.—The Mistakes of the Democratic Party, ... 215

XVI.—Gossiping with a Louisiana Sugar Planter, wherein the Truth is Related that Resembles Curious Stories, ... 217

XVII.—In which is Recorded a Thousand Trifling Matters, Equally Important and Necessary to the Right Understanding of our Political History. . . . 245

South, and that was the evil spirit that menaced the Abolition party in the North. The South said: "Our neighbors in the North ask us to change our system of labor, claiming that it was unjust. Surely they are dealing with delusions, for justice rewards everybody for the good they do, and as the negroes have no other means of paying for their civilization but their labor, God's Providence has decreed that they shall give the white people a portion of their labor for civilizing them. We are patient, kind and forbearing with their shortcomings, as enlightened men must be in rescuing God's lowly people from heathenism.

We have led them from a heathen god to the Christian church and taught them the useful arts and occupations by which poverty and ignorance is driven from the human race.

They are docile, kind and ever faithful to their masters, which shows their appreciation for civilization. They derive more benefit from slavery than their masters do, and when we have enlightened them sufficiently to be self-supporting in civilized society, then our mission will be over and God's Providence will appoint the time and manner in which they are to be released from their apprenticeship. But if liberated before the

and prayed to the man in the moon to cast down the true light of our political history.

"History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events which her enlarged mirror is able to present to us."

The Abolition party, the Republican party, and the Democratic party, all three differed in principle, but owing to the fact that they all wore the same uniforms and combined themselves in one grand army to defeat the three evil spirits in the South, the historians have drawn no line of distinction between them.

The Abolition party was composed of the toiling classes, who produce the wealth, and the Republican party is composed of the class who collect the wealth that the toiling classes produce. In 1832 Congress passed an act aiding this particular class to collect the wealth that other men produced, but South Carolina nullified it, claiming that it was not delegated to Congress to aid particular classes in collecting the wealth that others produced, and that was the evil spirit that menaced the Republican party in the North. The Abolition party claimed that white labor could not compete with negro labor in the

South, and that was the evil spirit that menaced the Abolition party in the North. The South said: "Our neighbors in the North ask us to change our system of labor, claiming that it was unjust. Surely they are dealing with delusions, for justice rewards everybody for the good they do, and as the negroes have no other means of paying for their civilization but their labor, God's Providence has decreed that they shall give the white people a portion of their labor for civilizing them. We are patient, kind and forbearing with their shortcomings, as enlightened men must be in rescuing God's lowly people from heathenism.

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appointed time freedom would be a curse to them, for unscrupulous men would take advantage of their innocence, and God's Providence would hold us responsible for allowing their enemies to destroy them. What did the people of the Northern States ever do to civilize any of God's lowly black people? The Abolitionists charge us with the sin of slavery. If we understand the meaning of the word, sin is degradation. Now, we only have to compare the advancement of the Southern negro with the condition of his race in Africa to prove that the highest order of humanity is to take the savage man and bring him into the folds of civilization and enslave him until he pays for his civilization by his labor. No man will break a wild horse unless he expects to derive some benefit from the animal. Neither will a civilized man teach another a trade unless he pays for his instruction by his labor. They say that it is a sin to buy and sell slaves and separate families.

Without emigration, and immigration, society would soon stagnate, therefore that is no sin. They have not been able to sustain a single charge they have brought against us. They will not listen to reason, they call our statesmen fire-eaters. If we do not resist the fanatics of the North they will destroy the Republic.

When men want to conquer others any pretext will answer their purposes.

At the time of his nomination, Abraham Lincoln was fifty-two years old, says his biographer. There was then but little doubt that he would be elected. Crowds flocked to pay their homage to one who, as President, would soon have so immense a patronage at his disposal. It became necessary that a room should be set apart in the State House for his receptions. From morning till night he was busy.

In looking over a book which his friends had prepared, and which contained the result of a careful canvass of the city of Springfield, showing how each man would vote, he was surprised and greatly grieved to find that most of the ministers were against him. As he closed the book, he said, sadly: "Here are twenty-three ministers of different denominations, and all of them are against me but three. Mr. Bateman, I am not a Christian; God knows, I would be one; but I have carefully read the Bible, and I do not so understand this book. These men well know that I am for freedom in the Territories, freedom everywhere as far as the Constitution and laws will permit; and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this;

and yet with this book in their hands, in the light of which human bondage cannot live a moment, they are going to vote against me. Doesn't it appear strange that men can ignore the moral aspects of this contest? A revelation could not make it plainer to me that slavery or the Government must be destroyed. It seems as if God had borne with this slavery until the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible, and to claim for it a divine character and sanction: and now the cup of iniquity is full and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

Upon this declaration the South seceded, and that was the evil spirit that menaced the Democrats in the North.

CHAPTER II.

THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES CASTING OUT DEVILS.

"I pray thee," said the North, "cast these evil spirits out from among us."

"Therefore, if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh *shall be* a barbarian unto me."

HEN Sherman marched to the sea, the smoke of his devastating torch rose high in the air, and warned the people at a distance of his coming.

The horizon was streaked with smoke for miles. Columns after columns went up in the air like mountain peaks. Pliny described the eruption of Vesuvius, and compared the smoke that went up from the crater to an Italian pine. The internal forces of the volcano sent the smoke high in the air, and it spread at the top like the foliage of a pine tree. But the smoke of Sherman's army rose like mountain peaks one after the other, as the soldiers marched along and set fire to the turpentine stills and dwellings of the people. After marching through

Georgia, they directed their ravaging course toward North Carolina, sweeping off cattle and sheep from the pastures of South Carolina; driving on long cavalcades of horses and mules laden with spoil, until the earth shook with the tramping of their feet. Their course was marked through South Carolina by clouds of dust and the smoke of burning villages.

When they arrived in North Carolina, great clouds of black smoke were seen rising up in the distance, and the soldiers of the three political parties went among the people casting out devils.

The soldiers of the Abolition party went to the negro cabins at Goshen plantation and said: "Get out of these houses and break up this slavery, and have paid labor all over this country, so a northern man can come to God Almighty's best country and make a living.

"Leave here, you infernal woolly head, flat-nosed, black devils, and go back to Africa, where you came from, and quit competing with white labor in free America.

"Leave here, I say, and break up this southern aristocracy, and make this old rebel work for his living, like we have to do."

The soldiers then went into the cabins with

drawn sabres and broke up the furniture, and pieces of bedsteads went flying out of doors, with trunks, bandboxes and clothing. They ripped open the beds, hunting for treasure, and a shower of feathers went flying through the air as they drove the slaves away.

The next day the soldiers of the Republican party came to Goshen plantation and plundered the planter's dwelling-house.

No one can realize how effectually the Republican party can plunder the people.

Bureau-drawers were pulled out and the contents emptied on the floor, so they could pick up such articles as they wanted. Beds were ripped open, hunting for treasure; blankets were carried off; clocks were knocked from the mantels and fell to the floor with a crash, and looking-glasses fell to pieces by the stroke of the sabres.

The Republicans seemed to have a special spite for looking-glasses, for when they would pass by one the glass would let them see what they were doing, and they would smash it in the face for its impudence.

When they began to break the furniture, the planter remonstrated with them, saying:—

"Soldiers, do not break up the furniture and

the piano, for it will not do you any good to destroy that which is of no service to you."

The Republican soldiers replied:—

"Shut up, you damned old rebel; we are going to have protection. We will break up your furniture and make you buy more from the North. We are going to put the bottom rail on top, and make your black negroes vote against you for our protection, and break up this free trade Democracy."

On the morning of the third day the soldiers of the Democratic party came to Goshen plantation, and went to the smoke house and began to load their pack saddles with bacon.

The planter went out to them and said:—

"Gentlemen, do not take all of my meat."

One of the soldiers, speaking for his party, said:—

"We are fighting for the Union, sir, and you must feed us while we are here. If you had not split the Union, we would not have come here. You have the finest hams I ever saw; you ought to send them to the New York fair; they would take the premium."

The planter said in reply:—

"How in the devil can I send the hams to New York, and you carrying them all away?

A party of your soldiers came here and drove all of my slaves away, and another party of them came here and plundered my house, and here you are carrying off all of my bacon."

In answer to that the Democrat said:—

"Those men are grand rascals; they are Abolitionists, the North is full of them; and the bummers are Yankees; they will plunder anybody, for they are Republicans."

The planter then said:—

"It seems to me that if they are such grand rascals, you are in bad company, and ought not to be with them."

To that the Democrat replied by saying:—

"We are not keeping their company politically; we are fighting for the Union. We do not want your negroes; all that we want is the Union, and when we get it restored you and I will vote the old Jeffersonian ticket together, and defeat the political schemes of both of the grand rascals, the Abolition fanatics and the Republican robbers."

In reply to this, the planter looked straight into the eyes of the Democrat, and said:—

"You are a fool. The other two parties are fighting for a principle, but you are fighting to destroy yours by assisting them."

To this the Democratic soldiers made no reply, but rode off carrying loads of bacon with them.

On the morning of the fourth day General Kilpatrick called to make the planter a social visit. The General said that he had heard, through some reliable source, that the planter was a very intelligent and well-informed man, and that he desired to talk with some of the old citizens on the probable results of the war.

The planter met the General at the door and invited him in, and apologized to him in a humorous way for the disordered condition of the house.

"You will not lose anything by this," said he.

"But tell me, General," said the planter, "are these visitations in civilized society for the good of the whole society, or is it the dream of fanatics who are the authors of their own destruction?"

The General was somewhat perplexed for an answer, but after a moment's reflection said:—

"Slavery is in the way of civilization, and it must give way to a higher order of progressive civilization."

The planter then said:—

"You intend to convey the northern idea that

free labor cannot compete with slave labor in the United States, and slavery must go to make room for free labor?"

"Yes, that is it," said the General.

"But you must remember," said the planter, "that revolutions sometimes defeat the purposes for which they are made; and abolishing slavery will not abolish the negro."

"I am fully conscious of that," said the General; "but the negroes will die off; they will scatter and disappear; they will not be in the care of intelligent masters who look after all their wants, and send for the finest doctors in the United States when they get sick. You take your slaves into your own house when they get sick, and nurse them like you do your own children; that is the way the southern people do; and they hire Irishmen to clean out the ditches, to keep the negroes' valuable feet out of the cold water, for fear they will get sick —that is the way the southern people do; and when they are set free and cast aside, they will not have anybody to pet them, and they will die off—that is the way the negroes will do."

The planter then said:—

"I have not paid a doctor's bill on my plantation in eighteen years, for the simple reason

there has been no sickness here to call a doctor to see, and my family have numbered sixty people, counting both black and white. And I will assure you all the medicine we use we get it out of the kitchen garden, such as sage tea and Jerusalem-oak seed stewed in molasses candy."

After a moment's reflection, the General said:—

"I will admit that our winter march through Georgia and the two Carolinas was a revelation to my soldiers. They never knew before what a good climate is; the balmy southern air is so genial to the temperature of the blood that consumptives in my army, who were barely able to start on the march, come through hearty, robust, well men."

"I fear, then, the negroes will not die off, as you predict, in such a climate as you found in the South," said the planter.

"Yes, they will," said the General; "the lazy, sleek, black, flat-nosed, woolly-headed devils will not have sense enough to take care of themselves in any climate without masters."

"I would like you to tell me the real motive of your people for making war upon the South. It certainly must be a great political mystery

to them. I have heard the remarks of some of your soldiers, and they do not seem to agree among themselves upon a single political principle. They call each other rebels, Abolitionists, Communists, Republicans and Copperheads; pray, tell me sir, what does all of that mean? Tell me if you can, what is this war about? In reply, the General said:—

"To make room for white labor to come down South from the North, and take the place of slave labor, and build up schools and factories all over the South like we have up North."

The planter, continuing in his philosophical way, said:—

"I cannot understand, General, how you can expect to benefit white labor at the North by changing the political status of the negro in the South, for the physical man will remain the same as he now is, and that being the case I cannot understand how white labor can compete with free negro labor any better than it can with slave negro labor. Now, it seems to me if your object in making the war is to benefit white labor, you will have to remove the physical competitor by transporting the negroes to Africa or to some other part of the malarial tropics where white men cannot live, and then white men from the

North can flock to the South like doves in a wheat field. But I think you have but few statesmen in the North who are smart enough to see that, and now since Lincoln has just been assassinated I do not believe that you have any statesmen in the present administration at Washington who have forecast enough to carry out his colonization policy. We of the South had a great mission work on our hands in the civilization of God's lowly black people, but the people of the North would not allow us to carry it out fully and to the best results. Fifty years ago we began to teach our slaves letters, but as soon as we took that step the people of the Northern States began to circulate incendiary literature among them, and the Southern slavemasters thought it best to stop teaching them how to read and write on that account. And, later still, when the South wanted to scatter the negroes in the territories so as to make the abolition of slavery fall as light on her as possible the North objected to that."

When the people of the Northern States clamored for the freedom of the blacks, Robert Toombs told them how they would be set free. In his lecture in the Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts, Januany 24, 1856, he said:—

"The condition of the African may not be permanent among us. Under the conditions of labor in England and the Continent of Europe domestic slavery is impossible there, and could not exist here or anywhere else.

"The moment wages descend to a point barely sufficient to support the laborer and his family, capital cannot afford to own labor, and slavery must cease.

"Slavery ceased in England in obedience to this law, and not from any regard to liberty or humanity.

"The increase of the population in this country may produce the same results, and American slavery, like that of England, may find its euthanasia in the general prostration of all labor."

"Now, Sir, you have made an unnatural crusade against the South," said the planter, "to free the slaves before the appointed time, and as you have freed those entrusted to me without my consent, you can go to Africa with them, for they are not fit to be my political equals, for you have not allowed me to fulfil the mission of civilizing these lowly black people. So, if you can do better than I have, go, and come no more."

The General took his hat and left, muttering, as he went, in an undertone, saying to his body-guard:—

"We will not accept his slaves for any such purpose. We have conquered the rebels now, and we will do as we see fit, not as they suggest. We will put the bottom rail on top of the proud rebels."

The planter turned to his son as the General rode away and said:—

"What fools fanatics will be."

Several thousand of General Kilpatrick's Cavalry had gone into camp at Flatwood plantation when he made the planter a visit, and a large number were at Thunder Swamp, but the principle number and his headquarters were at Mt. Olive, a station on the Atlantic Coast line Railroad.

Goshen plantation is about three miles from Mt. Olive and two miles from Flat Wood.

The public road traverses the centre of Goshen plantation, and the soldiers made a barricade with fence rails across the road directly in front of the house and a picket was kept there until the army left that region to wind up the rebellion.

The planters in the neighborhood had bedded

their sweet-potatoes and planted Irish potatoes, and were preparing their fields for the general crops when Sherman's army came upon them. At Goshen plantation a patch of Irish potatoes had been planted in the field adjoining the road and near by where the picket were at the barricade. The potatoes were half-grown in April, and they were a great curiosity to the soldiers from the far North, who had never seen potatoes growing so early before.

One day a soldier who had been admiring the potatoes called the attention of a number of the others to them, and said:—

"Boys, just look at these potatoes; they are from eight to ten inches high, and the ground is hard frozen in Michigan yet where I came from. They have not thought of planting potatoes there. Now, mark what I tell you. As soon as the war is over I intend to come back down south to live, for this is the country to live in. What do you all think of it?"

A number of others, all speaking at once, said:—

"Yes, sir, this is the climate; this is the country to enjoy life in."

One of them was so enthusiastic contemplating his future prospects he said that he was

going to sell what little property he had in the cold North and come back down South and take a new start in life. "Yes, sir, come back down South and take a new start. That is is the way to do," he said.

"Now you are talking to my notion," said another.

"That expresses my ideas," said another. "The war has cost many lives and many millions of dollars, but this country is worth fighting for, and I expect to be fully repaid for my trouble. The Southern plantations, divided into small Yankee farms, would be the finest country on earth."

At this stage of the conversation a soldier with a very sedate countenance interposed, and said:—

"As soon as the war is over I expect to go home and stay there. If I were a Confederate soldier I would shoot Yankees for forty years to come. We had no more right to come here and destroyed the property of the Southern people than we have a right to go to England and destroy theirs. You were not satisfied until you came here to free the slaves, and you found them better off than many of you in the North, and now you talk of coming back here to live

when the war ends. Do you suppose that the Confederate soldiers will allow you to live here when they come back from the army and see how we have destroyed their property? Look how we have destroyed the property on this plantation; the weather-boards are all torn off of the barn and there is not a grain of corn left in it, and the frame stands there like a skeleton to show what we have done. The furniture in the dwelling is all demolished, and the floors in every room is covered with tobacco-spit. Such insults are worse than injury. When his sons come back from the army they will judge our character by the signs we leave behind us, and the Southern people may yet make it a personal matter with every Northern man in the South, and if they do, no excuses on earth will justify our conduct. It took a hundred thousand of us to come through to North Carolina, and the men who opposed such forces as the North marched against the South are not cowards. You cannot say that the Confederate soldiers are cowards on the battle-field, neither will they be cowards at home. I am a democrat. Democracy means attend to your own business and let other people alone."

The next day about seventy-five soldiers came

from the camps to relieve the picket at the barricade, and they admired the potato patch also.

"Did you ever see potatoes growing in the winter before?" said this one. "This is winter with us at the North and here they have potatoes half-grown."

Upon this remark another proposed to go to the fence and take a good look at the potatoes. Whereupon about twenty-five of them went, and as they sat upon the fence admiring the potatoes and talking about them, one of the soldiers said:—

"It is the climate; the climate is what we came to see, not the potatoes. These old rebels have been living here in God Almighty's best country all their lives and never let us know before what a fine climate they have. Why, sir, we Yankees have just discovered that we have been living in the cold, frozen North on half-of what they throw away."

"But I fear we will be forced to live on what we earn in the future instead of what the Southern people throw away, for I have put paper bottoms in shoes and we have lived well in New England off of the good money that the Southern people threw away when they bought

them. That is the way we have been living on what the Southern people have thrown away," said the shoemaker.

"But you must remember that they are rich and have the slave to work for them and of course they do not care for being cheated a little. No, what do they care for being cheated, the never kick at small matters," said another.

"But I think that it is poor policy to destroy the very customers that we are depending upon to sell our shoes to," replied the shoemaker.

"What are you talking about?" said another. "Nobody is destroying the Southern people or injuring them even; the slaves will be set free but they will remain in the South where they are to work as they always have; it will only break the political strength of the South and give us protection, and the manufacturers in the North will make millions, why sir, they will make five dollars to one; it is not fair for the South to have slaves and then not even allow us to make use of our hirelings. The Northern and Western farmers are ignorant. It is the Southern intelligence that will not allow us to have protection, and they must be conquered, for capital must rule labor; I am a Republican."

The remarks of the Republican caused a murmur among the soldiers and they all jumped down from the top of the fence and went back to the barricade. On their way back one of them said:

"If Lincoln has been assassinated, his scheme for colonizing the Negroes is not dead, and these fellows in authority at Washington will be forced by public sentiment North to carry it out. Lincoln had a principle and he was the poor man's friend. But all of those other fellows at Washington have no principle, or to say the least, they have never defined their principle; but honest Abe Lincoln had no secrets to keep hid back from any one, he was open in his policy from first to last, he never had any idea of making a black negro a citizen to vote against white men, as you Republicans propose to do. Negro equality, why, sir," he said: "What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races."

"I heard a number of soldiers say that they were going to live in the South when the war is over. Do you want a negro to vote against you when you come back here to live? It is a blessed thing that there are but few people

North who advocate your doctrine, for if they were to enfranchise the slaves they not only would disgrace themselves but they would make the negro a permanent industrial competitor with white labor for all time to come, and we never could divide up the Southern plantations into small Yankee farms; for the negro, bond or free, gives the South her industrial independence. I am in favor of sending them back to Africa where they came from and break up this Southern aristocracy. You may accuse me of communism, or whatever you please, you all know that the working men in this country have the majority, and labor must rule capital. I am an Abolitionist."

Let all those who question the verity of this most marvellous statement consult the soldiers of Sherman's army. I speak nothing but what I heard them say at Goshen plantation, Duplin County, North Carolina, 1865.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OR EQUALITY OF WHITE MEN.

IN a country as vast in area and as varied in soil and climate as the United States, the interest of the different States is as varied as the different nations in Europe. This varied interest was designed by Nature for the good of the whole, and Democracy in recognition of this fact has placed no restrictions upon the interchange of commerce between the States. This is free-trade democracy at home, but inasmuch as a revenue is necessary to carry on the Government, Democracy conceded a tariff on importations from foreign nations for revenue only, for any tariff in excess of that is class legislation and consequently destroys Democracy or Political Equality of White Men.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY; OR, MONEY POWER.

THE great conflict between labor and capital has ever been how the earnings of labor shall be divided between them. The South adopted one plan and the North another.

"In all social systems" said Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, "there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. It constitutes the very mudsill of society and of political government, and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air as to build either the one or the other except on this mudsill.

"The man who lives by daily labor, and who has to put out his labor in the market and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole class of manual laborer and operatives, as you call them, are essentially slaves.

"The difference is, that our slaves are hired for life, yours are hired by the day. Our

slaves are black, yours are white. Our slaves do not vote, yours vote."

The Republican party, therefore, was organized to enfranchise the black slaves, so that they might have the great and glorious privilege of voting, and thereby become the victims of their own folly, just as the white slaves are in the North.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABOLITION PARTY, OR COMMUNISM.

HE chosen people of God, by the Levitical law, proclaimed under divine sanction, were authorized to hold slaves—not of their own race—(of these they were to hold bondsmen for a term of years)—but of the heathen around them—of these they were authorized to buy slaves, "bondmen and bondwomen," for life, who were to be to them "an inheritance" and "possession forever."

The people of the Northern States rejected the negro and made a servile class of our own race. Subordination of the superior to the superior race traverses the laws of nature, for every white man feels that he is the equal of his own race, and when he is made subordinate to those of his own race he resorts to communism to drag down others to elevate himself.

Subordination of the superior to their own class superiority in the Northern States produced communism, or the Abolition party, a

political organization to expel the negroes, to deprive the Southern whites of their laborers, to make room for the subordinate class in the Northern States to come South and take their places and divide up the plantations into small Yankee farms. "That the providence of God has provided a refuge in Africa is, indeed, a great and noticeable fact," says the Abolition bible. "But to fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperience, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attends the inception of new enterprises. Let the Church of the North receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America." Abraham Lincoln, the great expounder of the Abolition bible said: "If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia—to their own native

land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them all and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living to-

gether upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and the black races."

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

VER since that tragical occurrence took place the public have never received any satisfactory answer as to what prompted the assassin's work. Some said that it was because Lincoln did not want Jefferson Davis arrested. Others dismissed it as the work of a mad man. There were some, however, among the superstitious, who believed it a fulfilment of the prophecy of the two images in the looking-glass, the story which, as related by Lincoln himself, is this:

"A very singular occurrence took place the day I was nominated at Chicago, of which I am reminded to-night. In the afternoon of the day returning home from down town, I went up stairs to Mrs. Lincoln's sitting-room. Feeling somewhat tired, I lay down upon a couch in the room, directly opposite a bureau, upon which was a looking-glass. As I reclined, my eye fell upon the glass, and I saw distinctly two images

of myself, exactly alike, except that one was a little paler than the other. I arose, and lay down again with the same result. It made me quite uncomfortable for a few moments; but, some friends coming in, the matter passed out of my mind. The next day, while walking in the street, I was suddenly reminded of the circumstance, and the disagreeable sensation produced by it returned. I determined to go home, and place myself in the same position; and, if the same effect was produced, I would make up my mind that it was the natural result of some principle of refraction or optics which I did not understand, and dismiss it. I tried the experiment with a like result; and, as I said to myself, accounting for it on some principle unknown to me, it ceased to trouble me. But, some time ago, I tried to produce the same effect here by arranging a glass and a couch in the same position, without effect. My wife was somewhat worried about it. She thought it was a sign that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the second term."

Although superstitious persons may believe that the assassination of Lincoln was the ful-

filment of the prophecy of the two images in the looking-glass, a systematic inquiry into the politics of the time reveals the fact that the Republicans had him killed. They used him as a warrior to conquer the South, and after accomplishing their purposes with him, they had no use for him as a statesmen and put him out of the way.

In the first place, then, the most important matter bearing upon the points we have in hand and which claims special attention, was the disagreement between Lincoln and the Republicans in Congress. This most extraordinary, if not fatal, error of disapproving the arrest of Jefferson Davis, is the more worthy of special notice here, from the fact that Lincoln saw the superior cunning of the Republicans in Congress, and he wanted to strengthen himself by making new friends in the South. It is well known that, just before Johnston succumbed, Sherman went round to City Point, Va., where he met and had a personal interview with Mr. Lincoln, and consulted him fully as to the course he should take in winding np the war, which he saw was now rapidly approaching its end. General Sherman says he asked President Lincoln explicitly when at City Point,

whether he wanted him to capture Jeff Davis or let him escape, but the President gave him no reply except a story about a temperance lecturer, who, one day, after a long ride in the hot sun, stopped at the house of a friend, and was regaled with lemonade. His host insinuatingly asked, if he wouldn't like the least drop of something stronger to brace up his nerves after the exhausting heat and exercise?

"No," replied the lecturer; "I couldn't think of it; I'm opposed to it on principle. But," he added, with a longing glance at the black bottle that stood conveniently at hand; "if you could manage to put in a drop unbeknownst to me, I guess it wouldn't hurt me much."

"Now, General," said Mr. Lincoln, in conclusion, "I'm bound to oppose the escape of Jeff. Davis; but if you could manage to let him slip out unbeknownst like, I guess it wouldn't hurt me much."

As soon as the Republicans heard of this, they asked Lincoln on his return to Washington if he made use of such utterances. "Certainly, I did," he replied; and feeling that he would soon strengthen himself in Congress by the return of Southern members, he boldly

said: "I do not intend to have any of the Confederates arrested. But as soon as the rebel army under Johnston surrenders, I intend to issue a proclamation inviting all of the Southern members of Congress to come back and take their seats; and when I get a full Congress of the United States assembled, I shall deliver my message to them, and I trust they will be men of sense who will respect my messages and relieve me of this great difficulty I have, in contending with this present Congress, composed, as it is, wholly of Northern men. In my message of December 3, 1861, I recommended colonizing the negroes, but the Congress paid no attention to me. The Republicans have made good use of me as a warrior to conquer the South, but as a statesman they have no use for me. We have always looked to the South for the brains of Congress, and the absence of Southern members has left the nation in the hands of imbeciles." When the Republicans heard this, they went about murmuring among themselves, saying: "The President intends to reinstate the Southern members in Congress, and he will submit his old colonization policy to them. He has already said that the Southern people

ought to be remunerated for the loss of their slaves. Now, with such a proposition to the Confederates in Congress they would support him in colonizing the negroes rather than be dominated by their former slaves in freedom. But the question that comes home to us is this: "Are we to be taxed to pay rebels for slaves?" besides, if the colonization policy should be adopted the South would build up at the expense of the North. Emigrants would flock to the South like doves in a wheat field, and property in the North would depreciate millions of dollars in value, and aristocracy would be broken up all over the United States. The Southern planters would be left standing alone on their big plantations, and they would give one-half of their land to emigrants from the North; and our fields would go bare by the loss of our laborers, and grass would grow in the streets of the cities all over the North. Lincoln is a dangerous man, his policy is nothing but communism, he is about to establish the French commune here in America."

An Abolitionist, who desired to conceal the true policy of their party, said that the charge brought against Lincoln and the Abolition party by the Republicans was false. Whereupon a

Republican rose up and said that he could sustain the truth of the charge by reading an extract from a speech made by a well-known southern Abolitionist. He unfolded a pamphlet and read an extract from a speech made by Andrew Johnson, who, in alluding to the exportation of negroes, to carry out the commune idea of Lincoln, said: "I am almost induced to wish, that, as in the days of old, a Moses might arise, who should lead them safely to their promised land of freedom and happiness. God, no doubt, has prepared somewhere an instrument for the great work he designs to perform in behalf of this outraged people; and, in due time, their leader will come forth, their Moses will be revealed to them. I am not an agrarian. I wish to see secured to every man, rich or poor, the fruits of his honest industry, effort or toil. I want each man to feel that what he has gained by his own skill, or talent, or exertion, is rightfully his, and his alone; but if, through an iniquitous system, a vast amount of wealth has been accumulated in the hands of one man, or a few men, then that result is wrong; and the sooner we can right it, the better for all concerned. I say, that if these immense plantations were divided up and par-

celed out amongst a number of free, industrious and honest farmers, it would give more good citizens to the Commonwealth of Tennessee, increase the wages of our mechanics, enrich the markets of our city, enliven all the arteries of trade, improve society and conduce to the greatness and glory of the State. A distinguished Georgian told me in Washington, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, and just before his inauguration, that the people of Georgia would not consent to be governed by a man who had risen from the ranks. It was one of the principal objections of the people of the South to Mr. Lincoln. This aristocracy is antagonistic to the principles of free democratic government, and the time has come when it must give up the ghost. The time has come when this rebellious element of aristocracy must be punished. The day, when they could talk of their three or four thousand acres of land, tilled by their hundreds of negroes, is past; and the hour for the division of these rich lands among the energetic and laboring masses is at hand. The field is to be thrown open, and I now invite the energetic and industrious of the North to come and occupy it, and apply here the same skill and industry which has made the North

so rich. I am for putting down the aristocracy and dividing out their possessions among the worthier laborers of the whole country."

Thus did the Republicans discuss among themselves the policy to be pursued by Lincoln and his Abolition horde. About that time there were momentous occurrences taking place in the South.

Jefferson Davis and his cabinet left Richmond on the night of the second of April, 1865, and on the following day President Lincoln went into the city.

While he was gone on that trip the Republicans at Washington planned his assassination. They said that he was getting too intimate with the rebels for the good of the Republican party. Mr. Lincoln was very much disturbed after the surrender of General Lee. and he had been to Richmond to see his old friend Alexander H. Stephens upon the question of what would be the results of peace in the Southern States as effected by the contiguity of the white and black races. He was sadly disappointed on his arrival to learn that his old friend, Mr. Stephens, had gone from the Confederate capital at least two weeks before his arrival there.

On his return to Washington, he sent for

General Butler, and said: "I am troubled about the negroes. We are soon to have peace. We have got some one hundred and odd thousand negroes who have been trained in arms. When peace shall come I fear lest these colored men shall organize themselves in the South, especially in the States where the negroes are in preponderance in numbers, into guerrilla parties, and we have down there a warfare between the whites and negroes.

In the course of the reconstruction of the Government it will become a question of how the negro is to be disposed of. Would it not be possible to export them to some place, say, Liberia or South America, and organize them into communities to support themselves? Now, General, I wish you would examine the practicability of such exportation. Your organization of the flotilla, which carried your army from Yorktown and Fort Monroe to City Point, and its success, show that you understand such matters. Will you give this your attention, and, at as early a day as possible, report to me your views upon the subject."

After some few days of examination, with the aid of statistics and calculations of this topic, General Butler repaired to the President's office one morning, and said to him:

"I have come to report to you on the question you have submitted to me, Mr. President, about the exportation of the negroes."

He exhibited great interest, and said: "Well, what do you think of it?"

General Butler said: "Mr. President, I assume that if the negro is to be sent away on shipboard, you do not propose to enact the horrors of the middle passage, but would give the negroes the air space that the law provides for emigrants."

He said: "Certainly."

"Well, then," said General Butler, "here are some calculations which will show you that if you undertake to export all of the negroes—and I do not see how you can take one portion differently from another—negro children will be born faster than your whole naval and merchant vessels, if substantially all of them were devoted to that use, can carry them from the country."

He examined General Butler's tables carefully for some considerable time, and then he looked up sadly, and said: "Your deductions seem to be correct, General. But what can we do?"

General Butler replied: "If I understand

you, Mr. President, your theory is this: That the negro soldiers we have enlisted will not return to the peaceful pursuits of laboring men, but will become a class of guerrillas and criminals. Now, while I do not see, under the Constitution, even with all the aid of Congress, how you can export a class of people who are citizens against their will, yet the Commander-in-chief can dispose of soldiers quite arbitrarily. Now, then, we have large quantities of clothing to clothe them, large quantities of provision with which to supply them, and arms and everything necessary for them, even to spades and shovels, mules and wagons. Our war has shown that an army organization is the very best for digging up the soil and making intrenchments. Witness the very many miles of intrenchments that our soldiers have dug out. I know of a concession of the United States of Colombia for a tract of thirty miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama for opening a ship canal. The enlistment of the negroes have all of them from two to three years to run. Why not send them all down there to dig the canal? They will withstand the climate, and the work can be done with less cost to the United States in that way than in any other. If you choose, I

will take command of the expedition. We will take our arms with us, and I need not suggest to you that we will need nobody sent down to guard us from the interference of any nation. We will proceed to cultivate the land and supply ourselves with all the fresh food that can be raised in the tropics, which will be all that will be needed, and your stores of provisions and supplies of clothing will furnish all the rest. Shall I work out the details of such an expedition for you, Mr. President?"

He reflected for some time, and then said: "There is meat in that suggestion, General Butler; there is meat in that suggestion. Go and talk to Seward, and see what foreign complication there will be about it. Then think it over, get your figures made, and come to me again as soon as you can. If the plan has no other merit, it will rid the country of the colored soldiers."

"Oh," said General Butler, "it will do more than that. After we get down there we shall make an humble petition for you to send our wives and children to us, which you can't well refuse, and then you will have a United States colony in that region which will hold its own against all comers, and be contented and happy."

"Yes, yes," said he, "that's it; go and see Seward."

When the Republicans heard of this interview that General Butler had with Mr. Lincoln upon the subject of exporting the negroes, they said: "We must stop this commune movement of the Abolitionists."

They ordered a call meeting and held a secret session in which the names of all the leaders were ascertained. They then ordered a masacre of Lincoln, Seward, Grant, and several others.

In discussing the different plans suggested to take the lives of these high officials without being detected in the act, they agreed among themselves to get some of Mr. Lincoln's vials of wrath and pour out upon their heads.

Now, in order that the reader may more fully understand what these vials of wrath were, we append what Mr. Lincoln said about them himself.

In looking over a book which his friends had prepared, and which contained the result of a careful canvass of the city of Springfield, showing how each man would vote, he was surprised and greatly grieved to find that most of the ministers were against him. As he

closed the book, he said sadly "Here are twenty-three ministers of different denominations, and all of them are against me but three. Mr. Bateman, I am not a Christian, God knows, I would be one; but I have carefully read the Bible, and I do not so understand this book. These men well know that I am for freedom in the Territories, freedom everywhere as far as the Constitution and laws will permit; and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this; and yet with this book in their hands, in the light of which human bondage cannot live a moment, thay are going to vote against me. Doesn't it appear strange that men can ignore the moral aspects of this contest? A revelation could not make it plainer to me that slavery or the Government must be destroyed. It seems as if God had borne with this slavery until the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible, and to claim for it a divine character and sanction! and now the cup of iniquity is full, and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

One of the Republicans told a negro to go look in Mr. Lincoln's big blue chest and see how many vials of wrath he had left. The

negro went and soon came back and said that there was none there. "Go look in his writing desk," said the Republican. After turning over papers and knocking down inkstands the negro found three vials of wrath and brought them to the Republicans. "Are these all?" said they, "Four years ago when Lincoln left Illinois he had his big blue chest full of vials of wrath. Has he poured them all out but three?" The negro set the vials of wrath on the table and went on his way. We follow in our legend the details of old Federal chronicles, authenticated by Confederate poets. Let those who dispute our facts produce better authority for their contradiction.

With his preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation in September, 1862, Lincoln wished it distinctly understood that the exportation of the slaves was in his mind inseparably connected with the policy. He was at that time pressing upon the attention of Congress a scheme of Colonization in Central America. The Republicans said that subsequent developments however, proved that it was simply an organization of Abolitionists for land stealing and plunder, and when Lincoln tried to carry it out by colonizing the negroes they had him assassinated.

The reader can now see that the Republicans and the Abolitionists were both fighting for plunder. But they differed with each other as to who should be plundered. The Abolitionists wanted to plunder the rich people and the Republicans wanted to plunder the poor people. In his message to Congress in December 8, 1863, Lincoln thus boasts of his Emancipation proclamation.

"The preliminary emancipation proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation and of employing black soldiers gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope and fear and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the general government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the

United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks, thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any."

This is a great boast, as everybody will admit; but upon reflection he began to realize that he had committed high crimes against law and humanity, and he became alarmed at what he did, and said to General Butler: "I am afraid of the negroes. We are soon to have peace. We have got some one hundred and odd thousand negroes who have been trained to arms. When peace shall come, I fear lest these colored men shall organize themselves in the South, especially in the States where the negroes are in preponderance in numbers, into guerrilla parties, and we have down there a warfare between the whites and the negroes."

Justice was soon to be meted out to him. He put arms in their hands and trained their humble but emotional natures to deeds of violence and bloodshed, and sent them out to devastate their benefactors, who gave them their civilization and

led them from a heathen god to the Christian Church, and it seemed as if now the hand of Providence had turned against him. He was doomed to die, and that too by the hand of an assassin, in the presence of a house full of witnesses. The Republicans were then planning his assassination. They were sitting by a little table talking in a low tone of voice, but apparently very much excited, as they gazed upon the vials of wrath that set upon the table before them. As John Wilkes Booth came in, they said: "What is the news?"

Whereupon Booth took a paper from his pocket on which was printed a play-bill, and the announcement that Lincoln would attend the theatre that night.

The ladies in the dress circle at the theatre wore long robes girdled around the waist, and skirts over huge hoops, and trains tucked up to the waist, with powdered hair surmounted by a forest of feathers. Others wore fancy hats, cunningly calculated by a chronicler as "killing" in effect, with their hair superbly powdered, rouge delicately and effectively laid on; their whole precious persons enveloped in a perfect cloud of point lace and the finest of fine linen, for it was considered a State occasion

when the President attended the theatre, and they wore their best clothes. In the matter of dress, at least, we have considerably improved since those degenerate days.

While the President was sitting with his family in a box at the theatre, John Wilkes Booth approached him from behind and shot him, and then leaped to the stage, crying: "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" which means: "Thus always with tyrants!" and escaped. The beginning of the scene after the murder was conducted in terrifying whispers. Their looks and actions supplied the place of words. You heard what they spake, but you learned more from the agitation of mind displayed in their actions and deportment. When, at last, as if unable to support their feelings any longer, two ladies rose from their seats and seized his arms with a half whisper of terror as one of them said: "Are you hurt?" when Lincoln made no reply, and they were told that Booth had made his escape, they assumed such a look of anger, indignation and contempt as has not since been equalled, much less surpassed. The wonderful expression of heartfelt horror which they all felt when they saw his bleeding head, can be conceived and described only by those who saw

him. It is one of the traditions of Iowa that on that night no "copperhead" went forth from his house, and that for days afterward none ventured to open his mouth anywhere over the rolling prairies of that State.

The Abolitionists' heart was too deeply wounded; it was sullen and wrathful, and there was danger in the air. Although the Republicans made great show of grief, the Abolitionists began to suspect them. "We are in danger," said they. "The Abolitionists are mad and we must make a sacrifice to appease their wrath, less they should suspect us. Nothing but a human sacrifice will appease them. It is an old custom, we will admit, but the Aztecs in Mexico had human sacrifices, and they were the most highly civilized people in America. The Druids in England had human sacrifices also, and it is well enough to introduce anew the ancient customs of our forefathers (the Druids) for political purposes in our day and time."

They arrested David E. Harold, Edward Spangler, Louis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Loughlin, Samuel Arnold, George A. Atzerott, Samuel A. Mudd and Mary E. Surrat. The specification was: They did on April

15, 1865, combine, confederate and conspire together to murder President Abraham Lincoln, Vice-President Andrew Johnson, Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant and Secretary of State Wm. H. Seward. The sentence of the commission was that David E. Harold, G. A. Atzerott, Lewis Payne and Mary E. Surratt be hanged by the proper military authority, under the direction of the Secretary of War, on July 7, 1865. The others were sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for a term of years or for life. With only one day's delay, the sentences were carried into execution, for the Abolitionists were wrathful and nothing but human blood would appease them.

"Oh, wash me in the blood."

John H. Surratt escaped before trial. He was sought for by the spies of the war department half round the world, and after a long time was found serving as a soldier in the corps of Papal Zouaves, at Rome. He was brought back to Washington, tried and acquitted.

The case of Mrs. Surratt, at whose house some of these persons had boarded, awakened much sympathy. She was spoken of by her counsel, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, as "a devout Christian, ever kind, affectionate and

charitable, which was confirmed by evidence and uncontradicted."

On the day of this memorable human sacrifice, "her daughter, who was quite a devoted and affectionate person, sought to obtain an audience with President Johnson to implore at least a brief suspension of the sentence of her mother. She was obstructed and prevented from seeing the President by ex-Senator Preston King, of New York, and Senator James H. Lane, of Kansas, who were at the Executive Mansion, it is said, to keep guard over President Johnson."

"Each of these Senators, at a later period, died by their own hands," unable to bear the remorse of guilt and public hate.

The rest had their sleeps afflicted with terrible dreams and grew careless of life and wished for death. W. H. Seward died from violent convulsions, caused by uremic poisoning, said to have been produced by excessive drinking.

It is said that each and every one who took part in this human sacrifice lived a short time afterward in mental agony and died a miserable death.

Ah, ye wicked men, when the hand of men is powerless to punish, Almighty God, who rules us, after all, deals out justice to transgressors.

CHAPTER VII.

CONQUERING THE NORTHERN STATES UNDER PRETENCE OF RECONSTRUCTING THE SOUTHERN.

AFTER the Republicans had Lincoln assassinated they had no one left to oppose them, and as soon as the surrender of General Johnston was known at Washington, a proclamation was issued, offering $100,000 reward for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, charging him and other Confederates with complicity in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

Orders also were issued for the arrest of Mr. Stephens, Clement C. Clay, of Alabama, and all the Governors of the Confederate States, together with the prominent Confederate officers. Mr. Davis, with Mr. Reagan, Post-Master-General, and all his party, including ex-Governor Lubbock, of Texas, were arrested on the 10th of May, Mr. Stephens on the 11th, and all the Governors with many other prominent Confederates arrested about the same time.

When the orders were issued for the arrest of General Lee, he immediately wrote to General Grant on the subject. Grant instantly repaired to Washington, and protested against the arrest.

It is understood, he said emphatically, that if his parole given to General Lee and his officers and men at Appotomax were violated, he would resign his commission in the army.

This brought the Republicans to a pause; the order for the arrest of General Lee and other Confederates, some of whom had already been arrested, was rescinded, and a new phase was given to the prospects of affairs in the South.

They disfranchised the Southern people to conquer the Northern States nnder pretence of reconstructing the Southern.

The Thirteenth Amendment says:—

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

This amendment closed the slave market in the South, and drove Southern money into the

manufacturing business in competition with Northern factories.

The Fourteenth Amendment says :—

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This amendment put to rest the Abolition movement to colonize the negroes, and it gave the South her permanent industrial independence.

The fifteenth Amendment says :—

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude."

Just at these words the ghost of Lincoln, whom the Republicans had caused to be assassinated, entered the Senate Chamber, and

placed himself on the chair which President Johnson was about to occupy, just as Banquo's ghost placed itself in the chair that Macbeth was about to occupy. Though Andrew Johnson was a bold man, and one that could have faced the devil without trembling, at this horrible sight his cheeks turned white with fear, and he stood with his eyes fixed upon the ghost and repeated to the Senators what the ghost said to him.

"I submit to Congress," said he, "whether this measure is not, in its whole character, scope, and object, without precedent, and without authority—in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the Constitution, and utterly destructive of those great principles of liberty and humanity, for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic, have shed so much blood, and expended so much treasure? Those who advocated the right of secession alleged in their own justification, that we had no regard for law, and that their rights of property, life, and liberty would not be safe under the Constitution as administered by us. If we now verify their assertion, we prove that they were, in truth and in fact, fighting for their liberty; and instead of branding their

leaders with the dishonoring name of traitors against a righteous and legal Government, we elevate them in history in the rank of self-sacrificing patriots, consecrate them to the admiration of the world, and place them by the side of Washington, Hampden and Sydney." Most truthful utterances these: And most remarkable, too, prompted as they were by Lincoln's ghost, who had, himself, just before his assassination been so full of 'breathing out threatenings and slaughter' against the self-sacrificing patriots."

The expressions presented a strong argument to his late associates and allies, to induce them, if possible, to reconsider and abandon the monstrous provisions of these construction measures. Still, he must have felt, that if they did not so reconsider and abandon, a very great wrong had been done to those who would suffer from them, by other measures to which he had unwittingly given his consent when he was alive, "never supposing that they would lead to such disastrous consequences." But this and other arguments, strong and pointed as they were, and coming from the ghost of Lincoln through Andrew Johnson, produced no effect whatever, but in-

creased rage, upon those to whom they were so conscientiously, earnestly, and truthfully addressed. "Deaf in their madness alike to principles, consistency, and all considerations of their own honor," says Alexander H. Stephens, "as well as humanity, they were resolved upon the execution of their purpose, though in it they destroyed every vestige of Civil Liberty." And this, too, was done by them under the atrocious pretext of providing for the establishment of peace and good order.

They promptly passed this Reconstruction Act, over the ghost's veto, by a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress. To commend this monstrous outrage to the favor of their constituents, it was pretended to be justified by those who voted for it, as a proper measure of punishment for those who had engaged in the Rebellion, and as a necessary security in the future, for the conquest of the Northern States.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TEMPTER.

TEMPTERS are those who solicit to an evil act; or entice others to something wrong by presenting arguments that are plausible or convincing, or by the offer of some pleasure or apparent advantage as the inducement.

The fascination of temptation allures men to their own destruction before they are aware of the danger.

Tempters promised Henry Clay enough votes to elect him President if he would give them the Protective tariff in 1832.

Think how his eyes must have bulged out when South Carolina nullified it, and ruined his prospects for the Presidency.

In those days the people ruled, and tempters were compelled to stay away from Washington. South Carolina had the experience of administering a paternal form of Government to the negroes, and she knew full well that paternalism in any form would enslave

any man. Consequently, she was determined that there should be no other dependents within her borders except the negroes.

We are told in sacred history that "the devil took Christ up into an exceeding high mountain, and showed him all of the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them; and said unto him: "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

But Christ replied:—

"Get thee hence, Satan."

The case, however, with men of low moral bearing, is generally quite different. Henry Clay was tempted by the offer of the Presidency of the United States, much less all of the kingdoms of the world.

Alex. H. Stephens, the great historian, says:—

"Power generally seems to change and transform the characters of those invested with it. Hence, the great necessity for 'those chains' in the Constitution, to bind all rulers and men in authority, spoken of by Mr. Jefferson."

When the tempters induced Henry Clay to disregard "those chains" South Carolina removed the tempters by nullification.

Congress forthwith repealed the Clay Protective Tariff bill. It was a severe rebuke to Mr. Clay, and to his tempters, who afterwards threatened war, but Mr. Clay said :—

"If there be any who want Civil War—who want to see the blood of any portion of our countrymen spilt, I am not one of them—I wish to see war of no kind; but above all, I do not desire to see a Civil War. When war begins, whether Civil or Foreign, no human sight is competent to foresee when, or how, or where, it is to terminate. But when a Civil War shall be lighted up in the bosom of our own happy land, and armies are marching, and commanders winning their victories, and fleets are in motion on our coasts—tell me if you can, tell me if any human being can tell its duration? God alone knows where such a war will end. In what state will be left our institutions? In what state our liberties? I want no war; above all, no war at home.

"Sir, I repeat, that I think South Carolina has been rash, intemperate, and greatly in the wrong; but I do not want to disgrace her, nor any other member of this Union. No, I do not desire to see the lustre of one single star

dimmed of that glorious Confederacy, which constitutes our political sun; still less do I wish to see it blotted out, and its light obliterated forever. Has not the State of South Carolina been one of the members of this Union in the days that tried men's souls?

"Have not her ancestors fought alongside our ancestors? Have we not conjointly won together many a glorious battle?

"If we had to go into a civil war with such a State, how would it terminate? Whenever it should have terminated, what would be her condition?

"If she should ever return to the Union, what would be the condition of her feelings and affections—what the state of the heart of her people?

"She has been with us before, when her ancestors mingled in the throng of battle, and as I hope our posterity will mingle with hers for ages and centuries to come in the united defence of liberty, and for the honor and glory of the Union. I do not wish to see her degraded or defaced as a member of this Confederacy. I would rather be right than be President."

CHAPTER IX.

WHO WERE THE VICTORS WHEN THE WAR CLOSED?

N his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," Jefferson Davis says:—

"The fathers of the Constitution of the United States sought to limit every grant of power so exactly that it should observe its bounds as invariably as a planetary body does its orbit. Yet, within the first hundred years of its existence all these limits have been disregarded, and the people have silently accepted the plea of necessity. It must be manifest to every one that there has been a fatal subversion of the Constitution of the United States. In estimating the results of the war, this is one of the most deplorable; because it is self-evident that, when a Constitutional Government once oversteps the limits fixed for the exercise of its powers, there is nothing beyond to check its further aggression; no place where it will voluntarily halt

until it reaches the subjugation of all who resist the usurpation. This was the sole issue involved in the conflict of the United States Government with the Confederate States; and every other issue, whether pretended or real, partook of its nature, and was subordinate to this one.

"Let us repeat an illustration: In strict observance of their inalienable rights, in abundant caution reserved, when they formed the compact or Constitution—whichever the reader pleases to call it—of the United States, the Confederate States sought to withdraw from the Union they had assisted to create, and to form a new and independent one among themselves. Then the Government of the United States broke through all the limits fixed for the exercise of the powers with which it had been endowed, and to accomplish its own will, assumed under the plea of necessity, powers unwritten and unknown in the Constitution, that it might thereby proceed to the extremity of subjugation. Thus it will be perceived that the question still lives.

"Although the Confederate armies may have left the field, although the citizen soldiers may have retired to the pursuits of peaceful life,

although the Confederate States may have renounced their new Union, they have proved their indestructibility by resuming their former places in the old one, where, by the organic law they could only be admitted as republican, equal and Sovereign States of the Union. And although the Confederacy as an organization may have ceased to exist as unquestionably as though it had never been formed, the fundamental principles, the eternal truths, uttered when our colonists in 1776 declared their independence, on which the Confederation of 1781 and the Union of 1788 were formed, and which animated and guided in the organization of the Confederacy of 1861, yet live and will survive, however crushed they may be by despotic force, however deep they may be buried under the debris of crumbling States, however they may be disavowed by the time-serving and the faint-hearted; yet I believe they have the eternity of truth, and that in God's appointed time and place they will prevail.

"The contest is not over, the strife is not ended. It has only entered on a new and enlarged arena. The champions of Constitutional Liberty must spring to the struggle like the armed men from the seminated dragon's teeth

until the Government of the United States is brought back to its Constitutional limits and the tyrant's plea of "necessity" is bound in chains strong as adamant:

> 'For freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

"When the war closed, who were the victors? Perhaps it is too soon to answer that question. Nevertheless, every day, as time rolls on, we look with increasing pride upon the struggle our people made for constitutional liberty. The war was one in which fundamental principles were involved; and, as force decides no truth, hence the issue is still undetermined as has been already shown.

"We have laid aside our swords; we have ceased our hostility; we have conceded the physical strength of the Northern States. But the question still lives, and all nations and peoples that adopt a confederated agent of government will become champions of our cause. While contemplating the Northern States with their Federal Constitution gone, ruthlessly destroyed under the tyrant's plea of "necessity," their State Sovereignty made a byword, and then people absorbed in an aggregated mass, no longer

as their fathers left them, protected by reserved rights against usurpation—the question naturally arises: On which side was the victory? Let the verdict of mankind decide."

It stands on record that the Southern people have always fought for Constitutional Liberty, while their opponents in every instance have sought usurpation of power. The object of the meeting of the first Congress may be seen from some of the powers conferred on their delegates in several of the colonies.

VIRGINIA: "To consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the Mother country, as to procure redress for the much injured Province of Massachusetts Bay, to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America."

MARYLAND: "To attend a General Congress to assist one general plan of conduct operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the Mother Country, for the relief of Boston and the preservation of American Liberty."

SOUTH CAROLINA: "To consider the acts lately passed, and bills depending in Parliament with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay; which Acts and Bills, in the precedent and consequence, affect the whole Constitution of America. Also the grievances under which America labors, by reason of the several Acts of Parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraints and burdens on trade, etc."

England was hard pressed for money at that time, and she sought relief by imposing unjust taxation upon her colonies in America, notwithstanding their chartered rights secured them against such injustice. But by the plea of necessity and virtue of force, England resorted to usurpation of powers, and not till then did her colonies resist. It is just as characteristic of the Southern people to obey Constitutional laws now, as it was a hundred years ago. But, when the people of the Northern States disregarded the Constitution it became obsolete and was no longer any service to the South. So they withdrew from the Union and carried the Constitution with them.

The South said:—

"We quit the Union, but we rescued the Constitution.

It is the ark of the covenant of our liberties, and it is our duty to keep it, hold fast to it, and defend it."

The Cavaliers in England, and their descendants in the Southern States have always been on the side of Constitutional laws, and the Roundheads in England and their descendants in the Northern States have always been restless under Constitutional laws, and have sought usurpations of power.

The Cival War in England, from 1642–6, was waged by the Roundheads for power, and the Civil War in this country was waged by the Northern people for power.

In reference to the war in England, Hume's History says:—

"When two names so sacred in the English Constitution as those of king and parliament were placed in opposition, no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions.

"The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank

from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated their lustre. Animated with the spirit of loyalty derived from their ancestors, they adhered to the ancient principles of the Constitution, and valued themselves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the possessions of the old English families. And while they passed their time mostly at their county seats, they were surprised to hear of opinions prevailing with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied not a limitation, but an abolition almost total of monarchical authority."

This reminds us somewhat of the Southern planters, who passed their time mostly at their county seats, they were surprised to hear of opinions prevailing with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied the destruction of States Rights. The liberties of the people in this county rest upon the Sovereignty of the States as their chief corner-stone.

Destroy the Sovereignty of the States, and the whole fabric falls to the ground, and centralized power with Military Despotism takes the place of Constitutional Liberty.

"To destroy our liberties" said the South, "must cost the Northern people their own, and the Republicanism of America must, in future, be regarded as a reproach and a by-word among all nations."

State Rights was the fatal point about which the Civil War had arisen with us, as Religion was the fatal point about which the Civil War had arisen in England with Charles I.

The Roundheads demanded of the King, in express terms, utterly to abolish Episcopacy; and they required, that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines; that is, in the manner the most repugnant to the inclinations of the King and all his partisans. Lord Broke was a zealous Puritan. He was killed by a shot while he was taking possession of Lichfield. He was viewing from a window St. Chad's Cathedral, in which a part of the royalists had fortified themselves. He was cased in complete armor, but was shot through the eye by a random ball. He had formerly said that he hoped to see with his eyes the ruin of all the Cathedrals of England. It was a superstitious remark of the royalists, that he

was killed on St. Chad's day by a shot from St. Chad's Cathedral, which pierced that very eye by which he hoped to see the ruin of all Cathedrals.

The Puritans in this country where they are at liberty to make new religions have planted Mormonism, conjuring and witchcraft ideas all across the Continent from Maine to California.

A number of them at Battle Creek, Michigan, have recently sent out a new religion printed in book form, from which the following extract is taken.

"The two-horned beast must symbolize an earthly government which is to be wielded by certain religious elements in the persecution of God's true people.

"The two-horned beast is not the same as the papal beast, because it does its work in the presence of that beast, or before him, hence the government symbolized by the two-horned beast, cannot be the same as that symbolized by the ten-horned beast. It must be a power equal in extent and influence to that symbolized by the leopard beast; or, in other words, to the Roman Empire."

Hume, the great historian, says, that the

Puritans in England made religion "not on any principles of human reason, but as if they relied upon low rhetoric to recommend it to others."

In the war with Charles I. the Puritans were called Roundheads, owing to the fact that they cut their hair short, but the royalists wore their hair long and were called cavaliers.

Some of their descendants in the Southern States have long hair, but in these days of political degeneracy the clippers are plied vigorously in the South, but there may be seen occasionally, a man with long locks to remind the young men of the South of whom they are descended. They are the most stately in appearance of any other men that America ever produced. Tall and graceful in carriage, they are benevolent, courteous and polite. They are men of profound thought, men of exemplary habits. It was just such as they who with their servants defended their Constitution and lawful Sovereign against the Roundheads of the cities of England.

"In that war what alone gave the King some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries was the nature and qualities of his adherents.

More bravery and activity were hoped for from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry than from the base disposition of the multitude. And as the men of estate, at their own expense, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected in these rustic troops than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The contempt entertained by the Roundheads for the King's party was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremities against him; and many believed that he never would attempt resistance, but must soon yield to the pretensions, however erroneous, of the Roundheads.

Even after his standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a Civil War; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The Roundheads hoped that the King's cavaliers, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves. and leave their adversaries a victory so much

the more complete and secure, as it would be gained without the appearance of force and without bloodshed. The King, on mustering his army, found it amounted to ten thousand men. The Earl of Lindesey, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the low countries, was general; Prince Rupert commanded the horse; Sir Jacob Astley, the foot; Sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons; Sir John Heydon, the artillery.

Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. Their servants under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters. With this army the King left Shrewsbury, resolved to give battle as soon as possible to the army of the Roundheads, which he heard was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his march towards the capital, which he knew the enemy would not abandon to him. Two days after the departure of the King with his army from Shrewsbury, Essex, Commander of the Roundheads, left Worcester.

Though it is commonly easy in Civil Wars to get intelligence, the armies were

within six miles of each other before either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy. Shrewsbury and Worcester, the places from which they set out, are not more than twenty miles apart; yet had the two armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance; so much had military skill, during a long peace, decayed in England. The Royal Army lay near Banbury; that of the Roundheads, at Keinton, in the County of Warwick. Prince Rupert sent intelligence of the enemy's approach. Though the day was far advanced, the King resolved upon the attack. Essex drew up his men to receive him.

Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish wars, had been obliged to serve in the Roundhead army, and was posted on the left wing, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman.

No sooner did the King's army approach, than Fortescue, ordering his troops to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of Prince Rupert. Partly from this incident, partly from the furious shock made upon them by the Prince, that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for two miles.

The right wing of the Roundhead army had no better success. Chased from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aston they also took to flight.

The King's body of reserves, commanded by Sir John Biron, judging, like raw soldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, heedlessly followed the chase which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded the Roundhead reserve, perceived the advantage; he wheeled about upon the King's infantry, and he made great havoc among them.

Lindesey, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His son, endeavoring his rescue, fell likewise into the enemy's hands.

Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the King's standard, was killed, and the standard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In this situation, Prince Rupert, on his return found affairs.

Everything bore the appearance of a defeat, instead of a victory with which he had easily flattered himself. Some advised the King to leave the field; but he rejected such pusillanimous counsel.

The two armies faced each other for some time, and neither of them retained courage sufficient for a new attack. All night they lay under arms; and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. Generals as well as soldiers, on both sides seemed averse to renew the battle.

Essex first drew off and returned to Warwick. The King returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle; such was the event of the first great battle of the war fought at Keinton.

We follow in detail some of the narratives of the Civil war in England, for comparison with those of the Civil war in this country.

For the first two years of the war the King obtained many advantages over the Roundheads, and had raised himself from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the Marquis of New Castle: and, excepting Hull, the Roundheads were masters of no garrison in these quarters. In the west, Plymouth alone, having been in vain besieged by Prince Maurice, resisted the

King's authority, and had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprise of Gloucester, the royal garrison had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other, and had occupied a greater extent of ground than those of the Roundheads.

Many of the King's Cavaliers flattered themselves that the same vigorous spirit which had elevated them to the present height of power would still favor their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their enemies. But those who judged more soundly observed, that besides the accession of the whole Scottish Nation to the side of the Roundheads, the very principle on which the King's Cavaliers' successes had been founded, was every day acquired more and more by the opposite party.

The King's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valor superior to their enemies, and had hitherto been successful in almost every battle; but in proportion as the whole nation became warlike by the continuance of civil discords, this advantage was more equally shared; and superior numbers, it was expected, must at length obtain the victory. The King's troops also, like the

Confederate soldiers, ill paid, and destitute of every necessity, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline with the Roundhead forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unexhausted stores and treasures. But fighting for Constitutional liberty, like the Confederate soldiers, they staid in the field nntil driven away by superior numbers.

Oliver Cromwell, who took an active part in the war, was 43 years old when he first embraced the military profession, and by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer; though perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander.

He raised a troop of horse; fixed his quarters in Cambridge; exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party; and showed himself a man who would go all lengths in favor of that cause which he had espoused. He plainly told his soldiers that if he met the King in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face, as readily as against any other man. His troop of horse he soon augmented to a regiment; and he first instituted that discipline, and inspired that spirit, which rendered the Roundhead army in the end victorious."

"Your troops," said he to Hampden, "are most of them old, decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; the King's forces are composed of gentlemen's younger sons, and persons of good quality. and do you think that the mean spirits of such base and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit; and take it not ill that I say, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will still be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every battle."

He did as he proposed. He enlisted the sons of freeholders and farmers.

He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When they were collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still rose to a higher pitch.

Cromwell, from his own natural character, as well as from policy, was sufficiently inclined to increase the flame.

He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valor and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader.

From low commands, he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, though in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence, he soon rendered himself the first in the State. In proportion to the increase of his authority, his talents always seemed to expand themselves; and displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergency by which they were called forth into action.

The Presbyterians in England whose credit had first supported the arms of the Roundheads, or Puritans, were enraged to find that by the treachery, or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labors were ravished from them.

The same fate has overtaken the western men in this country who took sides with New England in the war against the South. By the superior cunning of the Yankee, the fruits of all their successful labors have been ravished from them, and they are now tenant farmers all over the West for Yankee-land lords. They are enraged at the consequences of the war. But who cares if they are? The South says:—

"Lay the lash on. What is the use to

be a slave master and not lay the lash on?"

At the close of the Civil war in England the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained—the public trial and execution of their sovereign. The Parliament was composed of Roundheads or Puritans, and the leaders intended that the army themselves should execute that daring enterprise; and they deemed so irregular and lawless a deed best fitted to such irregular and lawless instruments. But the Generals were too wise to load themselves singly with the infamy which they knew must attend an action so shocking to the general sentiment of mankind. The Parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition.

In the House of Commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the King. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a high court of justice to try Charles for this new-invented treason.

This vote was sent up to the House of

Peers. The House of Peers, during the Civil war, had all along been of small account; but it had lately, since the King's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened that day to be fuller than usual, and they were assembled to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the Commons. The Commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle.

Having first established a principle which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is believed by all history and experience, "that the people are the origin of all just power," they next declared, that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being chosen by the people and representing them, are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the Commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of the King or House of Peers.

The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England (so they called him), was again read, and unanimously assented to. The Yankees in Congress, established the same precedent during the war and even since, claiming that they being chosen by the people and representing them, were the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever they enacted and declared to be law, was the law; regardless of the Constitution, of course.

In the case of Charles I., in proportion to the enormity of the violence and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity among those regicides.

"Should any one have voluntarily proposed" said Cromwell, in the House of Commons, to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you my advice on this important occasion.

"Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for His Majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preter-

natural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications." In this, Cromwell showed himself to be as great a hypocrite as Abraham Lincoln, who just before issuing his emancipation proclamation, said:—

"It is startling to think that Congress can free a slave within a State." A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions (just such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's visions in the Abolition bible), desired admittance into the military counsel, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious fanatic in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the King to London.

At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the King's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, "My dear Master"—"I have indeed been so to you," replied Charles

embracing him. No further intercourse was allowed between them. The King was instantly hurried away.

Hamilton long followed him with his eyes suffused in tears, and prognosticated that, in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

Charles himself was assured that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations which were making, and the intelligence which he received, he could not even yet believe that his enemies really meant to conclude their violence by a public trial and execution. A private assassination he every moment looked for; and though Harrison assured him that his apprehensions were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as in reality, the King was now dethroned.

All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first, he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed. "Nothing so con-

temptible as a despised Prince," was the reflection which they suggested to him. But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

All the circumstances of the trial were now adjusted, and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, as named by the Commons; but there scarcely ever sat above seventy: so difficult was it, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice and the allurements of interest, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal measure.

Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of mean birth, were members, together with some of the lower house, and some citizens of London.

The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number; but as they had affirmed that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the King for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted, their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out.

Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president, Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of

England. Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The Court sat in Westminster Hall. It is remarked that in calling over the Court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, "He has more wit than to be here."

When the charge was read against the King, "In the name of the people of England," the same voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the Court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came, it was discovered that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them. She was a person of noble extraction, daughter of Horace, Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long seconded her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequence of all his boasted victories.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction, corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of

human kind; the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the Commons, represented that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and intrusted with a limited power, yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth.

After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the King, and told him that the court expected his answer. The King, though long detained a prisoner and now produced as a criminal, sustained by his magnanimous courage the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented that, having been engaged in treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be

brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time to have been restored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his personal liberty; that he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the Constitution; and had learned that even the Commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdued by lawless force and were bereaved of their liberty; that he himself was their "native, hereditary King;" nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of heaven; that, admitting those extravagant principles which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power delegated by the people, unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained; that he acknowledged without scruple that he had a trust committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was intrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them by recognizing a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitu-

tion, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing in this last and most solemn scene to seal with his blood those precious rights for which, though in vain, he had so long contended; that those who arrogated a title to sit as his judges were born his subjects, and born subject to those laws which determined "that the king can do no wrong;" that he was not reduced to the necessity of sheltering himself under this general maxim, which guards every English monarch, even the least deserving, but was able, by the most satisfactory reason, to justify those measures in which he had been engaged; that to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse; but that, in order to preserve a uniformity of conduct, he must at present forego the apology of his innocence, lest, by ratifying an authority no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the Constitution.

The president, in order to support the ma-

jesty of the people and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated that he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they overrule his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction.

Even according to those principles, which, in his present situation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behavior in general will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject and one, too, of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed to the last degree audacious and insolent. Three times was Charles brought before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the King had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the Parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended

to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

It is confessed that the King's behavior during this last scene of his life does honor to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity and justness, both of thought and expression; mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity.

The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice.

"Poor souls," said the King to one of his attendants, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders." Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of pity was the

only effect which this inhuman insult was able to produce upon him.

The people, though under the rod of lawless, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, pouring forth their wishes for his preservation; and in his present distress, they avowed him, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected. The King was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier, too, seized by contagious sympathy, demanded from Heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: his officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's presence.

"The punishment, I think, exceeds the offence," said Charles.

As soon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign countries, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, inter-

posed in the King's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed and protested against the violence; the Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindesey, applied to the Commons. They represented that they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred by their advice in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master; that in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blamable action of the Prince; and that they now presented themselves in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honor, but contributed nothing towards the King's safety.

The people remained in that silence and astonishment which all great passions, when they

have not an opportunity to exert themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers, being incessantly plied with prayers, sermons and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury and imagined that in the acts of the most extreme disloyalty towards their King consisted their greatest merit in the eye of Heaven.

Three days were allowed the King between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester; for the Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant; the Princess, notwithstanding her tender years, showed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her.

After many pious consolations and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen that during the whole course of his life he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration.

To the young Duke, too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him up on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words the child looked very steadfastly upon him. "Mark, child! what I say; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king; but mark what I say, thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads when they can catch them. And thy head, too, they will cut off at last. Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them."

The Duke, sighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first." So determined an answer from one of such tender years, filled the King's eyes with tears and admiration.

Every night during this interval the King slept as sound as usual; though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually sounded in his ears.

The morning of the fatal day he rose early, and calling Herbert, one of his atten-

dants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful solemnity.

Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues by which the King himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last melancholy duties to his friend and sovereign.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution; for it was intended by choosing that very place, in sight of his own palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty.

When the King came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: he addressed, therefore, his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an entire conversion. He justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and said, that he had not taken arms till after the Parliament had enlisted forces: nor had he any other object in his warlike operations than to preserve that authority entire which his predecessors had transmitted to him.

He threw not, however, the blame upon the Parliament, but was more inclined to think, that ill instruments had interposed, and raised in them fears and jealousies with regard to his intentions.

Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself.

He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon called to him: "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find to your joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory."

"I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place."

At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a visor performed the office of executioner; another, in a like disguise, held up to the spectators the head, streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor."

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment which took place, not only among the spectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, but throughout the whole nation, as soon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people, than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy Prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears, those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those

hypocritical parricides, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the King's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest which he yet retained to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to rescue the King from his disloyal murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavored to convince him that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion; but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement he prolonged his doleful cant till intelligence arrived that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential an-

swer which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications.

It being remarked that the King, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word, "Remember," great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals vehemently insisted with the prelate that he should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them that the King, having frequently charged him to inculcate in his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies. The confusion which overspread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the spirit of refinement and innovation which agitated the ruling party as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had ever had been accustomed to be governed. Every man had formed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, or fantastical, he was eager in

recommending it to his fellow-citizens, or even imposing it by force upon them. Every man had adjusted a system of religion which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himself. The levellers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property, and disclaimed all dependence and subordination. The Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were superior to the beggarly elements of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tithes and a hireling priesthood, and were resolved that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party declared against the law and its professors; and, on pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even

those among the republicans who adopted not such extravagances were so intoxicated with their saintly character that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws and engagements, had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bonds of society were everywhere loosened, and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles, still more unsocial and irregular. The royalists, consisting of the cavaliers and more considerable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries who had reduced them to subjection. Rather than live under the rule of the Roundheads, thousands of them fled from England and settled in Virginia and the other southern colonies.

After taking possession of the Government the Roundheads could not agree in Parliament, Cromwell saw his opportunity. When there is no unity of feeling between men they are easily dissolved. Cromwell seeing this hastened to the House of Commons, and carried a body of three hundred soldiers along with him. He suddenly loaded the Parliament with

the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression and robbery of the public.

Then drawing his sword, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the Parliament, "get you gone, give place to honest men, to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a Parliament, I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament. The Lord has done with you, he has chosen other instruments for His work."

Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall. In this furious manner which so well denotes his genuine character did Cromwell, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes.

From that time, Cromwell ruled with an iron hand, until his death, after which the people in England were compelled to recall their banished King, Charles II., and reestablish the Constitutional Government to secure themselves against their own weakness and folly.

After the restoration the Roundheads or Puri-

tans, fled from England by thousands and settled in the New England States.

Thirsting for power in this country, they overthrew the Constitutional laws and made war upon the South, and established a centralized Government. They enfranchised the slaves to rule the South, but the negroes give the South her industrial independence, and when Northern men come south the Southerners can say to them, "We have our negroes and their votes that you unwittingly made us a present of, and if you do not do as we desire you can go back North and work for your Yankee boss for just such wages as he sees fit to pay you."

When Abraham Lincoln was told that they would enfranchise the slaves he foresaw that, and he said:—

"The enfranchisement of the negro race would place the diadem of power upon the heads of the Southern people."

Then who were the victors when the war closed?

The tempter controls the centralized Government in Washington, and the South has the diadem of power.

CHAPTER X.

THE STORY OF THE TWO IMAGES IN THE LOOKING-GLASS, IN WHICH IT APPEARS THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAW HIS OWN GHOST—COMMENTS THEREON BY HIS OLD FRIEND, ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

A VERY singular occurrence took place the day I was nominated at Chicago, of which I am reminded to-night. In the afternoon of the day, returning home from down town, I went upstairs to Mrs. Lincoln's sitting-room. Feeling somewhat tired, I lay down upon a couch in the room, directly opposite a bureau upon which was a looking-glass. As I reclined, my eyes fell upon the glass, and I saw distinctly *two* images of myself, exactly alike, except that one was a little paler than the other. I arose and lay down again with the same result.

"It made me quite uncomfortable for a few moments; but some friends coming in, the matter passed from my mind.

"The next day, while walking in the street,

I was suddenly reminded of the circumstance, and the disagreeable sensation produced by it returned. I determined to go home and place myself in the same position, and if the same effect was produced, I would make up my mind that it was the natural result of some principle of refraction or optics which I did not understand, and dismiss it. I tried the experiment, with a like result; and, as I said to myself, accounting for it on some principle unknown to me, it ceased to trouble me.

"But some time ago I tried to produce the same effect *here* by arranging a glass and couch in the same position, without effect. My wife was somewhat worried about it. She thought it was a sign that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the second term."

This incident in the life of Mr. Lincoln, as restated by himself, is thus alluded to by Dr. Draper in his "Civil War in America:"—

"As is not unfrequently observed of western men, there were mysterious traits of superstition in his character.

A friend once inquiring the cause of a deep depression under which he seemed to be suffering:—

"I have seen this evening again," he replied, "what I once saw before on the evening of my nomination at Chicago. As I stood before a mirror there were two images of myself, a bright one in front and one that was very pallid standing behind. It completely unnerved me. The bright one I know is my past, the pale one my coming life. And feeling that there is no armor against destiny," he added, "I do not think I shall live to see the end of my term. I try to shake off the vision but it still keeps haunting me."

Alex. H. Stephens, the great historian says :—

"Of Robespierre it is said that he was devotedly attached to the principles of liberty. "He was deeply read in the history of the Grecian and Roman Republics, and had a high admiration for the examples set by the free States and heroes of antiquity." These were the models according to which he had formed the ideal of a State.

"Trial by jury, the enfranchisement of the slaves, the liberty of the press, the abolition of capital punishment, were among the special subjects advocated by him.

"These were certainly high and admirable qualities, to say nothing of his many other private

virtues. This, however, is the man who in power made such bloody use of the guillotine, without allowing his victims any hearing whatever, not even by a military commission, much less a jury; and for which his name has been associated with everything cruel, inhuman and execrable. But in these acts it is said *he* was influenced by 'a sense of justice' which was 'incorruptible in its nature, but statue-like in its frigid insensibility.'

"A man may possess many amiable qualities in private life—many estimable virtues and excellencies of character, and yet in official position commit errors involving not only most unjustifiable usurpations of power, but such as rise to high crimes against society and against humanity. This, too, may be done most conscientiously and with the best intentions. This, at least, is my opinion on that subject. The history of the world abounds with apt instances for illustration. Mr. Lincoln, you say, was kind-hearted. In this I fully agree. No man I ever knew was more so, but the same was true of Julius Cæsar.

"All you have said of Mr. Lincoln's good qualities, and a great deal more on the same line, may be truly said of Cæsar. He was cer-

tainly esteemed by many of the best men of his day for some of the highest qualities which dignify and ennoble human nature. He was a thorough scholar, a profound philosopher, an accomplished orator and one of the most gifted as well as polished writers of the age in which he lived. No man ever had more devoted personal friends, and justly so, too, than he had. And yet, notwithstanding all these distinguishing, amiable and high qualities of his private character, he is by the general consent of mankind looked upon as the destroyer of the liberties of Rome. The case of Cæsar illustrates to some extent my view both of the private character of Mr. Lincoln, and of his public acts.

"In all such cases in estimating character we must discriminate between the man in private life and the man in public office. The two spheres somehow, and strangely enough, too, appear to be totally different. Power generally seems to change and transform the characters of those invested with it. Hence the great necessity for 'these chains' in the Constitution, to bind all rulers and men in authority, spoken of by Mr. Jefferson. Hazael, for all we know, may have been highly distinguished and perhaps beloved by the virtuous and good of

his acquaintance for many excellent traits of character in private life. He was, unquestionably, an eminently representative man. From his knowledge of himself in the lower, he seemed to have not the slightest conception of what he would or could be induced to do when raised to the higher official sphere; no more than a man in this life can conceive of the impulses by which he will be governed in the life hereafter. When he was told by Elisha, the prophet, that Benhadad, the King of Syria, would surely die and that he would be elevated to the throne in his stead, and when he was further told of 'the evil' he would do, and the barbarous iniquities he would commit in this, to him, new sphere, he was so shocked at the announcement that he exclaimed: 'But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?' So, perhaps, it would have been with Mr. Lincoln, if a like prophetic disclosure had been made to him.

"If, for instance, on the evening of his nomination at Chicago, when the two images of himself were presented in his mirror at Springfield, which ever afterwards so haunted him, it had been told to him, that the 'bright' one of these images was but the true likeness of himself in

the sphere of private life, and the other—pale and 'statue-like in its frigid insensibility' to all the gentle promptings of his generous heart—was the future image of himself in that official sphere to which he was soon to be elevated; if the curtain of the future had been further raised, and 'Death upon his pale horse' had been seen doing his tragical work on the rugged grounds of Manassas, at Oak Hill, at Corinth, on the battle-fields around Richmond—at Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Murfreesboro, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Chickamauga; if the scenes of slaughter and carnage in the Wilderness, at Cold Harbor and Atlanta had been exhibited; if the wails of horror that went up from the crater of the volcanic mine at Petersburg had been heard, even at a distance, commingling with like cries from the dying in the prisons of Camp Douglas, Rock Island and Elmira, as well as Salisbury and Andersonville, and others of less note; if the devastations in the valley of Virginia by Sheridan, and the conflagrations and desolations by Sherman through Georgia and the two Carolinas, especially at Columbia, had passed in grand panorama before his vision, reflected from that mirror, and he had been then and

there told by some inspired prophet that all these terrible scenes—these sufferings and woes of milllions—these convulsive throes of this our 'Nation of Nations' in the days of their agony —would soon be the results of his own acts in his official character, in that higher sphere to which he was to be elevated—represented by the second image thus reflected — he would doubtless have heard the announcement with no little horror,—he would, indeed, have been 'unnerved,' and would have exclaimed, in language of equal surprise and indignation, with that of Hazael to Elisha; he would have believed and would have said, with all the emphasis he could have commanded, that it was impossible for him to do such things."

CHAPTER XI.

A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE MANUFACTURING BUSINESS IN THE SOUTH.

ON the day the electric telegraph flashed the news over the country that Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States with his previous declaration "and now the cup of iniquity is full, and the vials of wrath will be poured out," the manufacturing business sprung into existence in the South.

On that day the Southern people began to repair their arms. The repair shops soon grew into immense manufactories.

In his history, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," Jefferson Davis, says:—

"We began in April, 1861, without an arsenal, laboratory, or powder mill of any capacity, and with no foundry or rolling mill, except in Richmond, and, before the close of 1863, or within a little over two years, we

supplied them. During the harassments of war, while holding our own in the field defiantly and successfully against a powerful enemy; crippled by a depreciated currency; throttled with a blockade that deprived us of nearly all the means of getting material or workmen; obliged to send almost every able-bodied man to the field; unable to use the slave-labor, with which we were abundantly supplied, except in the most unskilled departments of production; hampered by want of transportation even of the commonest supplies of food; with no stock on hand even of articles such as steel, copper, leather, iron, which we must have to build up our establishments —against all these obstacles, in spite of all these deficiencies, we persevered at home, as determinedly as did our troops in the field, against a more tangible opposition; and in that short period erected, almost literally out of the ground, foundries and rolling mills at Selma, Richmond, Atlanta, and Macon; smelting works at Petersburg; chemical works at Charlotte, North Carolina; a powder mill far superior to any in the United States, and unsurpassed by any across the ocean; and a chain of arsenals, armories, and laboratories

equal in their capacity, and their improved appointments to the best of those in the United States, stretching link by link from Virginia to Alabama.

"There was before the war little powder or ammunition of any kind stored in the Southern States, and this was a relic of the war with Mexico. It is doubtful if there were a million of rounds of small-arms cartridges. The chief store of powder was that captured at Norfolk; there was, besides, a small quantity at each of the Southern arsenals, in all sixty thousand pounds, chiefly old cannon-powder. The percussion caps did not exceed one-quarter of a million, and there was no lead on hand. There were no batteries of serviceable field-artillery at the arsenals, but a few old iron guns mounted on Gribeauval carriages fabricated about 1812. The States and the Volunteer companies did, however, possess some serviceable batteries; but there were neither harness, saddles, bridles, blankets, nor other artillery or cavalry equipments. Within the limits of the Confederate States the arsenals had been used only as depots, and no one of them, except that at Fayetteville, North Carolina, had a single machine above the grade of a foot-lathe. Except at Harper's Ferry

Armory, all the work of preparation of material had been carried on at the North; not an arm, not a gun, not a gun-carriage, and, except during the Mexican War, scarcely a round of ammunition had for fifty years been prepared in the Confederate States. There were consequently no workmen, or very few, skilled in these arts. Powder, save perhaps for blasting, had not been made at the South. No saltpetre was in store at any Southern point; it was stored wholly at the North. There were no worked mines of lead except in Virginia, and the situation of those made them a precarious dependence. The only cannon foundry existing was at Richmond. Copper, so necessary for field artillery and for percussion caps, was just being obtained in East Tennessee. There was no rolling mill for bar iron south of Richmond, and but few blast furnaces, and these, with trifling exceptions, were in the border States of Virginia and Tennessee.

"The first efforts made to obtain powder were by orders sent to the North, which had been early done both by the Confederate Government and by some of the States. These were being rapidly filled when the attack was made on Fort Sumter. The shipments then ceased. Nitre

was contemporaneously sought for in North Alabama and Tennessee. Between four and five hundred tons of sulphur were obtained in New Orleans, at which place it had been imported for use in the manufacture of sugar.

"Preparations for the construction of a large powder mill were promptly commenced by the Government, and two small, private mills in East Tennessee were supervised and improved.

On June 1, 1861, there was probably two hundred and fifty thousand pounds only, chiefly of cannon powder, and about as much nitre, which had been imported by Georgia. There were the two powder mills above mentioned, but we had no experience in making powder, or in extracting nitre from natural deposits, or in obtaining it by artificial beds. For the supply of arms an agent was sent to Europe, who made contracts to the extent of nearly half a million dollars. Some small arms had been obtained from the North, and also important machinery.

"The machinery at Harper's Ferry Armory had been saved from the flames by the heroic conduct of the operatives, headed by Mr. Armistead M. Ball, the master armorer. Of the machinery so saved, that for making rifle

muskets was transported to Richmond, and that for rifles with sword bayonets to Fayetteville, North Carolina. In addition to the injuries suffered by the machinery, the lack of skilled workmen caused much embarrassment.

"In the mean time the manufacture of small arms was undertaken at New Orleans and prosecuted with energy, though with limited success. In field artillery the manufacture was confined almost entirely to the Tredegar Works in Richmond. Some castings were made in New Orleans, and attention was turned to the manufacture of field and siege artillery at Nashville. A small foundry at Rome, Georgia, was induced to undertake the casting of the three-inch iron rifle, but the progress was very slow. The State of Virginia possessed a number of old four-pounder iron guns which were reamed out to get a good bore, and rifled with three grooves, after the manner of Parrott. The army at Harper's Ferry and that at Manassas were supplied with old batteries of six-pounder guns and twelve-pounder howitzers. A few Parrott guns, purchased by the State of Virginia, were with General Magruder at Big Bethel.

For the ammunition and equipment required for the infantry and artillery, a good laboratory

and workshop had been established at Richmond. The arsenals were making preparations for furnishing ammunition and knapsacks; but generally what little was done in this regard was for local purposes. Such was the general condition of ordnance and ordnance stores in May, 1861.

"The progress of development, however, was steady. A refinery of saltpetre was established near Nashville during the summer, which received the nitre from its vicinity and from the caves in East Tennessee. Some inferior powder was made at two small mills in South Carolina. North Carolina established a mill near Raleigh; and a stamping mill was put up near New Orleans, and powder was made there before the fall of the city. Small quantities were also received through the blockade. It was estimated that on January 1, 1862, there were fifteen hundred sea-coast guns of various calibre in position from Evansport, on the Potomac, to Fort Brown, on the Rio Grande. If their calibre was averaged at twenty-two pounder, and the charge at five pounds, it would, at forty rounds per gun, have required six hundred thousand pounds of powder for them. The field artillery—say three hundred guns, with two hundred rounds

to the piece—would require one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; and the small-arm cartridges — say ten million—would consume one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds more, making in all eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Deducting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, supposed to be on hand in various shapes, and the increment is six hundred thousand pounds for the year 1861.

"Of this, perhaps two hundred thousand pounds had been made at the Tennessee and other mills, leaving four hundred thousand pounds to be supplied through the blockade, or before the beginning of hostilities.

"The liability of powder to deteriorate in damp atmospheres results from the impurity of the nitre used in its manufacture, and this it is not possible to detect by any of the usual tests. Security, therefore in the purchase, depends on the reliability of the maker. To us, who had to rely on foreign products and the open market, this was equivalent to no security at all. It was, therefore, as well for this reason as because of the precariousness of thus obtaining the requisite supply, necessary that we should establish a Government powder mill.

"It was our good fortune to have a valuable man whose military education and scientific knowledge had been supplemented by practical experience in a large manufactory of machinery. He, General G. W. Rains, was at the time resident in the State of New York; but when his native State, North Carolina, seceded from the Union, and joined the Confederacy, true to the highest instincts of patriotism, he returned to the land of his birth and only asked where he could be most useful. The expectations which his reputation justified caused him to be assigned to the task of making a great powder mill, which should alike furnish an adequate supply, and give assurance of its possessing all the requisite qualities. This problem, which, under the existing circumstances, seemed barely possible, was fully solved.

"Not only was powder made of every variety of grain and exact uniformity in each, but the nitre was so absolutely purified that there was no danger of its deterioration in service.

"Had Admiral Semmes been supplied with such powder, it is demonstrated, by the facts which have since been established, that the

engagement between the Alabama and the Kearsage would have resulted in a victory for the former.

"These Government powder mills were located at Augusta, Georgia, and satisfactory progress was made in the construction during the year. All the machinery, including the very heavy rollers, was made in the Confederate States. Contracts were made abroad for the delivery of nitre through the blockade; and, for obtaining it immediately, we resorted to caves, tobacco-barns, cellars, etc. The amount delivered from Tennessee was the largest item in the year's supply, but the whole was quite inadequate to existing and prospective needs.

"The consumption of lead was mainly met by the lead-mines at Wytheville, the yield from which was from sixty to eighty thousand pounds per month. Lead was also collected by agents in considerable quantities throughout the country, and the battle-field of Manassas was closely gleaned, from which much lead was collected.

"A laboratory for the smelting of other ores was constructed at Petersburg, Va., and was in operation before midsummer of 1862. By the close of 1861, eight arsenals and four depots had been supplied with materials and ma-

chinery, so as to be efficient in producing the various munitions and equipments, the want of which had caused early embarrassment. Thus a good deal had been done to produce the needed material of war and to refute the croakers who found in our poverty application for the maxim, 'Ex nihilo nihil fit.' The troops were, however, still very poorly armed and equipped.

"The old smooth-bore musket was the principal weapon of the infantry; the artillery had mostly the six-pounder gun and the twelve-pounder howitzer; and the cavalry were armed with such various weapons as they could get—sabres, horse-pistols, revolvers, Sharp's carbines, musketoons, short Enfield rifles, Holt's carbines, muskets cut off, etc. Equipments were in many cases made of stout cotton domestic, stitched in triple folds and covered with paint or rubber varnish. But, poor as were the arms, enough of them such as they were, could not be obtained to arm the troops pressing forward to defend their homes and political rights.

"In December, 1861, arms purchased abroad began to come in, and a good many Enfield rifles were in the hands of the troops at the battle of Shiloh. The winter of 1862 was the period when our ordnance deficiencies were most

keenly felt. Powder was called for on every hand, and the equipments most needed were those we were least able to supply. The abandonment of the line of the Potomac, and the upper Mississippi from Columbus to Memphis, did somewhat, however, reduce the pressure for heavy artillery; and, after the fall of 1862, when the powder-mill at Augusta had got into full operation, there was no further inability to meet all requisitions for ammunition. To provide the iron needed for cannon and projectiles, it had been necessary to stimulate by contracts the mining and smelting of its ores. But it was obviously beyond the power of even the administrative capacity of the chief of ordnance, General J. Gorgas, to whose monograph I am indebted for these details, to add, to his already burdensome labors, the numerous and increasing cares of obtaining the material from which ammunition, arms and equipments were to be manufactured. On his recommendation a nitre and mining bureau was organized, and Colonel St. John, who had been hitherto assigned to duty in connection with procuring supplies of nitre and iron, was appointed to be chief of this bureau. A large, difficult, and most important field of operations was thus assigned to him,

and well did he fulfill its requirements. To his recent experience was added scientific knowledge, and to both, untiring, systematic industry and his heart's thorough devotion to the cause he served. The tree is known by its fruit, and he may confidently point to results as the evidence on which he is willing to stand for judgment.

"Nitre was to be obtained from caves and other like sources, and by the formation of nitre beds, some of which had previously been begun at Richmond. These beds were located at Columbia, South Carolina, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Mobile, Selma and various other points. At the close of 1864, there were two million eight hundred thousand feet of earth collected, and in various stages of nitrification, of which a large proportion was presumed to yield one and a half pound of nitre, per foot of earth. The whole country was laid off into districts, each of which was under the charge of an officer, who obtained details of workmen from the army, and made his monthly reports.

"Thus the nitre production, in the course of a year, was brought up to something like half of the total consumption. The district

from which the most constant yield could be relied on had its chief office at Greensboro, North Carolina, a region which had no nitre-caves in it.

"The nitre was obtained from lixiviation of nitrous earth found under old houses, barns, etc.

"The supervision of the production of iron, lead, copper, and all the minerals which needed development, as well as the manufacture of sulphuric and nitric acids, (the latter required for the supply of the fulminate of mercury for percussion caps), without which the fire arms of our day would have been useless, was added to the nitre bureau.

Such was the progress that in a short time, the bureau was aiding or managing some twenty to thirty furnaces with an annual yield of fifty thousand tons or more of pig iron. The lead and copper smelting works erected were sufficient for all wants, and the smelting of zinc of good quality had been achieved. The chemical works were placed at Charlotte, North Carolina, to serve as a reserve when the supply from abroad might be cut off.

"In equipping the armies first sent into the

field, the supply of accessories was embarrassingly scant. There were arms, such as they were, for over one hundred thousand men, but no accoutrements nor equipments, and a meagre supply of ammunition. In time the knapsacks were supplanted by haversacks, which the women could make. But soldiers' shoes and cartrige boxes must be had; leather was also needed for artillery-harness and for cavalry-saddles; and, as the amount of leather which the country could furnish was quite insufficient for all these purposes, it was perforce apportioned among them. Soldiers' shoes were the prime necessity. Therefore, a scale was established, by which, first shoes and then cartridge boxes had the preference; after these artillery-harness, and then saddles and bridles.

"To economize leather the waist and cartridge box belts were made of prepared cotton cloth stitched in three or four thicknesses. Bridle-reins were likewise so made, and then cartridge boxes were thus covered, except the flap. Saddle-skirts, too, were made of heavy cotton cloth strongly stitched.

"To get leather, each department procured its quota of hides, made contracts with the

tanners, obtained hands for them by exemptions from the army, got transportation over the railroads for the hides and for supplies.

"To the varied functions of this bureau was finally added that of assisting the tanners to procure the necessary supplies for the tanners. A fishery, even, was established on Cape Fear River to get oil for mechanical purposes, and at the same time food for the workmen.

"In cavalry equipments the main thing was to get a good saddle which would not hurt the back of the horse. For this purpose various patterns were tried, and reasonable success was obtained. One of the most difficult wants to supply in this branch of the service was the horseshoe for cavalry and artillery.

"The want of iron and of skilled labor was strongly felt. Every wayside blacksmith shop accessible, especially those in and near the theatre of operations, was employed. These, again, had to be supplied with material, and the employes exempted from service.

"It early became manifest that great reliance must be placed on the introduction of articles of prime necessity through the blockaded ports. A vessel capable of stowing six hundred and

fifty bales of cotton was purchased by an agent in England and kept running between Bermuda and Wilmington. Some fifteen to eighteen successive trips were made before she was captured. Another was added which was equally successful. These vessels were long, low, rather narrow and built for speed. They were mostly of pale sky-color, and, with their lights out and with fuel that made little smoke, they ran to and from Wilmington with considerable regularity. Several others were added, and devoted to bringing in ordnance and finally general supplies. Depots of stores were likewise made at Nassau and Havana. Another organization was also necessary that the vessels coming in through the blockade might have their return cargoes promptly on their arrival. These resources were also supplemented by contracts for supplies brought through Texas from Mexico. The arsenal in Richmond soon grew into very large dimensions, and produced all the ordnance stores that the army required, except cannon and small arms, in quantities sufficient to supply the forces in the field. The arsenal at Augusta was very serviceable to the armies serving in the South and West, and turned out a good deal of field artillery complete. The

Government powder mills were entirely successful. The arsenal and workshops at Charleston were enlarged, steam introduced and good work done in various departments. The arsenal at Mount Vernon, Alabama, was moved to Selma, in that State, where it grew into a large and well-ordered establishment of the first-class. Mount Vernon arsenal was dismantled and served to furnish lumber and timber for use elsewhere.

"At Montgomery, shops were kept up for the repair of small arms and the manufacture of articles of leather. There were many other small establishments and depots.

"The chief armories were at Richmond and Fayetteville, North Carolina. The former turned out about fifteen hundred stands per month, and the latter only four hundred per month, for want of operatives. To meet the want of cavalry arms, a contract was made for the construction in Richmond of a factory for Sharp's carbines; this being built, it was then converted into a manufactory of rifle carbines. Smaller establishments grew up at Asheville, North Carolina, and at Tallessee, Alabama. A great part of the work of the armories consisted in the repair of arms. In

this manner the gleanings of the battle-fields were utilized. Nearly ten thousand stands were saved from the field of Manasses, and from those about Richmond in 1862 about twenty-five thousand excellent arms. All the stock of inferior arms disappeared from the armories during the first two years of the war, and were replaced by a better class of arms, rifled and percussioned.

"Placing the good arms lost previous to July, 1863, at one hundred thousand, there must have been received from various sources four hundred thousand stands of infantry arms in the first two years of the war. Among the obvious requirements of a well-regulated service was one central laboratory of sufficient capacity to prepare all ammunition, and thus to secure the vital advantage of absolute uniformity.

"Authority was therefore granted to concentrate this species of work at Macon, Georgia. Plans of the buildings and of the machinery required were submitted and approved, and the work was begun with energy. The pile of buildings had a façade of six hundred feet, was designed with taste, and comprehended every possible appliance for good and well-organized work. The buildings were nearly ready

for occupation at the close of the war, and some of the machinery had arrived at Bermuda. This project preceded that of a general armory for the Confederacy, and was much nearer completion. These, with the admirable powder mills at Augusta, would have been completed, and with them the Government would have been in a condition to supply arms and ammunition to three hundred thousand men. To these would have been added a foundry for heavy guns at Selma or Brierfield, Alabama, where the strongest cast-iron in the country had been made.

"Thus has been briefly sketched the development of the resources from which our large armies were supplied with arms and ammunition, while our country was invaded on land and water by armies much larger than our own. It will be seen under what disadvantages our people successfully prosecuted the (to them) new pursuits of mining and manufacturing."

All of this progress was levelled with the ground as an ant-hill by the ravages of the war; but once begun, no power on earth could stay the manufacturing business in the South, for the progress made by the Confederate Government revealed the natural resources, and at-

tracted the attention of capitalists at home and abroad.

The war closed the slave market, and the British system of landlord and tenant was established instead. The Southern landlords supplied their tenants with their necessary wants and reaped the profits of their labor.

In returning the money to the channels of industry, the manufacturing business was resumed. Coal and iron mines were re-opened and enlarged. Blast furnaces, rolling mills, foundries and machine shops sprung up, developing all branches of the metal working industry.

Cotton mills sprung up all over the South and the manufacture of textile fabrics in all forms of that industry began. Saw mills and planing mills sprung up in the forest, and all kinds of wood-working machinery put in operation developing that branch of industry. Brick kilns, tile works and the potter's wheel were put in operation developing all branches of that industry.

A history of the iron industry alone would fill a book. Alabama iron was hurled against Pennsylvania iron by two hundred Confederate cannon in the battle of Gettysburg. Old sol-

diers who fought in that battle say that the atmosphere reverberated and the earth trembled by the concussion. Pennsylvania was made to feel the force of Southern iron in that great battle. Since that time Alabama has surpassed Pennsylvania in making pig-iron. Which side whipped in the battle of Gettysburg?

The iron ore of the South extends link by link all the way from Virginia to Texas.

The toughest iron was made in Alabama during the war, but since then the blast furnaces in Texas claim to make the toughest cast-iron in this country. The car-wheel works at Marshall, in that State, use more hydraulic pressure to put the wheels on the axles than is used any where else, which shows the tough quality of Texas iron. But the Birmingham district in Alabama is the centre point for coal, iron ore and limestone, all of which they must have to make iron, and as it lies in juxtaposition there, they can make iron from four to six dollars a ton cheaper than they can make it anywhere else in the United States. They now have twenty-seven blast furnaces in Jefferson County, but they are only the forerunners of others, for there is iron ore, lime-

stone and coal enough in that county alone to supply five hundred furnaces for ages to come.

The cotton industry in the South, like the metal-working business, is fast beginning to expand into its future greatness. The crop has been increased year by year until it amounts to about 9,000,000 bales, which is worth, including the seed $400,000,000, and its value can be doubled by manufacturing it. Mills for that purpose are being built all over the South every year. The manufacture of the crop in the South is divided into two parts, and mills for manufacturing textile fabrics and mills for manufacturing seed products are constantly being erected. With negro labor in the field making cotton and white labor manufacturing it, the South has a combination of industrial forces in the cotton business with which no other labor on earth can compete. Cotton spinning is no longer an experiment in the South. Four hundred and fifty mills are now in successful operation; some of them operate 2000 looms apiece. The recent building of such large mills is the result of the success of smaller ones.

The manufacture of the Southern timber forest has been greatly augmented, and the

capacity of the mills is now adequate for home and foreign demands. The pitch-pine ranks first in commercial importance. It excels all other trees in its variety of products. It does not grow as large as the oak, cypress and poplar of the river bottoms, but sticks of timber 18 to 20 inches square and from 50 to 60 feet in length clear of knots can be sawed from it. It makes the best building material of any, and supplies the Southern and Western railroads with cross-ties.

The exportation of pitch pine lumber to Mexico and the West Indies has been carried on for years; and although the home and foreign demands will thin the forests in the next century, the trees that have been cut down can scarcely be missed at the present time.

In addition to lumber the tree produces turpentine, a resinous gum from which, when it is distilled, two other products are obtained, viz., spirits of turpentine and rosin.

When the tree is cut the turpentine exudes from it, but when it is not cut for that purpose the turpentine recedes from the sap into the wood of the tree and makes it impervious to rot.

Some trees yield more turpentine than others, and those which yield the most are the fattest, and as turpentine is very combustible it makes a bright light, hence the appellation, fat light wood (lightard).

Gate posts are made of fat light wood, and some of them in the Carolinas have stood the storms of a century.

A gate at Goshen plantation, N. C., stood 75 years.

Another gate at the same plantation was made in 1847, and it has been in constant use ever since, and it is as sound as ever at the present time.

Tar is also a product of the pitch pine tree. It is obtained by burning fat light wood in a kiln, and another product called pitch is made by mixing tar and rosin together.

The straw or foliage of the pitch pine tree, is used for making mattresses and carpets, several factories for its manufacture are in successful operation.

A hundred varieties of trees compose the timber forests of the South, from which the carpenter, the coach maker, and the furniture manufacturer can select their choice.

With the beginning of the manufacturing business in the South, the printing press was greatly enlarged and was kept running day and night to supply the place of the great literary magazines and newspapers of the North that suspended circulation in the South during the war.

New type was bought in England and brought over by the blockade runners.

Paper mills were constructed all over the South, and paper of all kinds, letter, note, foolscap and legal was successfully manufactured. But owing to the constant cutting of the transportation lines by the enemy, it was very difficult to distribute it, and in consequence it was very scarce in some localities, so much so that envelopes were carefully opened and turned inside out and redirected to the sender.

A series of Confederate school books, consisting of readers, arithmetics, geographies and Latin works, were published and manufactured.

Besides supplying us with an abundance of Southern literature, some of the best French and English classics were reprinted in the Confederate States.

"Les Miserables," by Victor Hugo, was translated and reprinted. Thousands of copies of the

Confederate reprint are now stored away in private libraries all over the South, and they are prized more highly than the recent issues with the finest binding.

The following note to the public shows the scarcity of paper with the publishers:—

"*Note to the Public.*—The last three parts of 'Les Miserables,' viz., Marius, St. Denis and Jean Valjean, will be issued in one volume. Should the publishers succeed in obtaining a sufficient supply of paper (its scarcity having greatly delayed all their late issues), they hope to complete the whole work early in the month of August."

Blockading the Southern ports compelled the South to discover herself. It was the medium through which she discovered her own greatness.

Proud as the Southerners formerly were, when they discovered their hidden resources which revealed to them the Southern monopoly, the people of the Northern States can imagine their increase of pride. There is not a State north of Maryland that can raise grain enough to supply her people with bread, and New England is dependent almost wholly upon the West for her supply.

The South supplies the North with early

vegetables, fruits and nuts; and as the cotton crop increases year by year, the price will gradually decline to 3 and 4 cents per pound. Then the South will be forced to raise her full supply of meat and bread, and with her factories she will indeed be a monopoly, independent of the North and the West.

CHAPTER XII.

SLAVERY AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

SO much has been written on slavery by those who know nothing of its political significance that the public has been grossly imposed upon. The family from which I am derived has descended all along from slave-holders, and if paternalism is understood by any it is best understood by those who are experienced in administering it. The sons of the Southern planters were required to work in the field side by side with the slaves to learn how to farm, for a general knowledge of agriculture like all other pursuits, can only be learned by practical application; and from seed time to harvest they staid in the field and watched the growth and maturity of all kinds of crops. At harvest time the food crops were hauled from the field and stored away in the common barn of the plantation, generally in sufficient quantity to last until another crop was made. Droves of

fat hogs were slaughtered and the meat stored away in the smoke-house.

Beef cattle grazed in the meadow and kept fat ready to slaughter at all seasons of the year.

Stacks of hay, pea vines and fodder stood in the field—in short, the food crops for man and animals were raised at home.

The market crops consisting of cotton, rice, wheat, sugar, molasses and tobacco were shipped to commission merchants and the money sent back in return went into the common treasury of the plantation. But the slaves were amply provided for. They were entitled by law to a home, to ample food and clothing, and exempted from "excessive" labor; and when no longer capable of labor, in old age and disease, they were a legal charge upon their master. Old and young whether capable of labor or not, from the cradle to the grave, had the same legal rights; and in these legal provisions they enjoyed as large a proportion of the products of their labor as any class of unskilled hired laborers in the world.

In addition to these legal rights they had, by universal custom, the control of much of their own time, which they applied, at their

own choice and convenience, to the mechanic arts, to agriculture, or to some other profitable pursuit, which not only gave them the power of purchase over many additional necessaries of life, but over many of its luxuries, and, in numerous cases, enabled them to purchase their freedom when they desired it. Besides, the nature of the relation of master and slave begat kindnesses, imposed duties, and secured their performance. The child of the slave not only had the care of its parents but that of its master also, and interest and humanity co-operated in harmony for the well-being of the slave. The slaves of Goshen plantation, North Carolina, were descended from two different African tribes. One set were of small stature, with small feet, small hands and large noses; the other were large and portly, had large feet and hands, and flat noses. They were docile and kind, but lazy. The former were great workers, loved dress and were high-tempered, vindictive and somewhat cruel, which made them unfit for good nurses. The children would put hot ashes on each other and do other acts of cruelty which show the race had not lived in civilized society long enough to overcome their African barbarity, and nothing but the

master's cowhide and fear of the court-house kept the grown ones from practising acts of great cruelty upon each other.

Since their emancipation negro missionaries have been sent to Africa from all parts of the South, and through them the negroes in this country have been kept in constant communication with their race in Africa.

Some of these missionaries whom I am personally acquainted with, and whom I have heard lecture, brought back with them idols and the sacerdotal paraphernalia of the priest which they put on themselves to exhibit when lecturing to the southern negroes on Africa and its people.

"Great God," said one to his audience in Mississippi as he exhibited an African slave lash, "you never were in slavery in this country, you do not know what slavery is, they would beat you to death in Africa."

Through these missionaries the negroes in the South have learned much of Africa and the status quo of their race there. With us they are secured against their own barbarity, and that is why they remain with their benefactors in this country.

As slaves they lived in common on the

plantation, and were governed by their master by virtue of authority vested in him by the State, which held him accountable for the well-being of the slaves.

Slavery of that kind was communism pure and simple, and demonstrated to the full satisfaction of Southern slave masters that communism in any form cannot exist without destroying too much of the personal liberty of men. That is why the South will not tolerate communism or paternalism in any form for the government of the whites.

It was found absolutely necessary to enforce the strictest kind of discipline. Certain duties were assigned to the head of each slave family and he was held responsible for the performance thereof.

In this way the industrial forces of the South moved steadily on. Trained under that discipline the emancipated slaves and their children respond to the call of the plantation bell even to the present day, and the work goes steadily on.

It was a political institution in which the slaves were secured against their own waste and folly, and compensated in old age by retirement from labor. This much the law se-

cured to them even if it ruined their master. Its political influence impressed the whole society and the negroes were seized with consternation when they learned that their master's obligations were released by changing their political status. Taking advantage of this the carpet-baggers or political agents of the Republican party held up paternalism to allure them, and had no trouble in securing their votes by promising them 40 acres and a mule. The southern cook was held responsible in her department and it was found necessary to make her as complete mistress of her kitchen as her mistress was of her, and sometimes a great deal more so. Our old cook (Charity) at Goshen plantation was one of the high-tempered kind. She knew how to season the dishes to perfection, and in addition to that she understood the art of retaining the natural flavors in cooking them; this she could do, provided there was no meddling in her department. In those days the cooking-stove was not in general use on the plantations, but instead the old-fashioned fireplace was with half a hundred cooking vessels. "What on earth do you do with so many cooking vessels?" said a neighbor who went into the kitchen

one day. "To do good cookin'" said the cook, "you must have a pot for every dish, for mixin' cookin' spiles de flavors."

The small boy on a southern plantation has more freedom than any other creature on earth. He has more latitude in which to develop his physical and intellectual growth than his town cousin has. He rides horseback at three years old and drives at five. He has his dog and gun to hunt with, and by sporting in the forest and field he becomes a profound student of natural history in the early days of his youth. He has the negro boy to play with, which begets a fellow feeling between the two which God himself designed to endure through life, while his town cousin is told that it is not nice to play with little negroes. But the town boy visiting his cousin at the plantation evidently did not believe in such nonsense. "I'm a negro, I'm a negro, I'm a negro too," exclaimed a little fellow expressing his delight at play with the little negroes. On some plantations there were five or six cooks and that is why the southern ladies have good cooks at the present time. The cooks could relieve each other and break the monotony. There was great rivalry among

them and the best one was made queen of the master's kitchen. When old Charity presided over the pots and ovens at Goshen plantation the small boy entered the kitchen at his hazard.

"If you come in this kitchen to snatch a biscuit before I get supper ready to send in the house I'll knock you down with this firestick."

Perhaps the boy had not thought of taking a biscuit, but her threat suggested to him to snatch one and run.

Her firestick would go whirling through the air after him, but he would soon go back with a handful of rotten eggs and stand outside and throw them to the top of the chimney, to fall down in the fireplace and add fuel to the flame. He would leave the cook in a rage and go to the quarter among the good negroes whose characteristic love for the white people is so admirably portrayed in the Abolition bible in the following conversation between old Aunt Chloe and her Mars'r George:—

"They wanted me to come to supper in the house," said George; "but I knew what was what too well for that, Aunt Chloe."

"So you did,—so you did, honey," said Aunt

Chloe, heaping the smoking batter cakes on his plate; "you know'd your old aunty'd keep the best for you. Oh, let you alone for that! Go away!" and, with that, aunty gave George a nudge with her finger, designed to be immensely facetious, and turned again to her griddle with great briskness.

"Now for the cake," said George, when the activity of the griddle department had somewhat subsided; and, with that, the youngster flourished a large knife over the article in question.

"La bless you Mas'r George," said Aunt Chloe, with earnestness, catching his arm, "you wouldn't be for cutting it wid dat ar great heavy knife! Smash all down,—spile all de pretty rise of it. Here, I've got a thin old knife, I keeps sharp a purpose. Dar now, see! comes apart light as a feather! Now eat away,—you won't get anything to beat dat ar."

"Tom Lincon says," said George, speaking with his mouth full, "that their Jinny is a better cook than you."

"Dem Lincons an't much count, no way!" said Aunt Chloe, contemptuously. "I mean set alongside *our* folks. They's spectable folks

enough in a kinder plain way; but as to gettin' up anything in style they don't begin to have a notion on't. Set Mas'r Lincon now alongside Mas'r Shelby! Good Lor; and Missis Lincon—can she kinder sweep it into a room like my misses—so kinder splendid, you know! Oh, go away! don't tell me nothin' of dem Lincons!" and Aunt Chloe tossed her head as one who hoped she did know something of the world.

"Well, though, I've heard you say," said George, "that Jinny was a pretty fair cook."

"So I did," said Aunt Chloe. "I may say dat. Good, plain, common cookin' Jinny 'll do;—make a good pone o' bread,—bile her taters *far*,—her corn cakes isn't extra, not extra now, Jinny's corn cakes isn't, but then they's far,—but, Lor, come to the higher branches, and what can she do? Why, she makes pies,—sartin she does; but what kinder crust? Can she make you real flecky paste, as melts in your mouth, and lies all up like a puff? Now, I went over thar when Miss Mary was gwine to be married, and Jinny she jest showed me the weddin' pies. Jinny and I is good friends, ye know. I never said nothin'; but go long, Mas'r George! Why, I shouldn't

sleep a wink for a week if I had a batch of pies like dem ar. Why, dey warn't no count 'tall."

"I suppose Jinny thought they were ever so nice," said George.

"Thought so;—didn't she? Thar she was showing 'em as innocent,—ye see, it's jest here, Jinny *dont know.* Lor, the family ain't nothing! She can't be 'spected to know. 'Tan't no fault o' hern. Ah, Mas'r George, you doesn't know half your privileges in yer family and bringing up!" Here Aunt Chloe sighed and rolled up her eyes with emotion.

"I'm sure, Aunt Chloe, I understand all my pie and pudding privileges," said George. "Ask Tom Lincon if I don't crow over him every time I meet him."

Aunt Chloe set back in her chair and indulged in a hearty guffaw of laughter at this witticism of young Mas'r's, laughing till the tears rolled down her black, shining cheeks, and varying the exercise with playfully slapping and poking Mas'r Georgey, and telling him to go way, and that he was a case—that he was fit to kill her, and that he sartin would kill her one of these days; and between each of these sanguinary predictions going off into a

laugh, each longer and stronger than the other, till George really began to think that he was a very dangerously witty fellow, and that it became him to be careful how he talked "as funny as he could."

"And so ye telled Tom Lincon, did ye? Oh, Lor! what young uns will be up ter! Ye crowed over Tom? Oh, Lor! Mas'r George, if ye would'nt make a hornbug laugh!"

"Yes," says George, "I says to him, 'Tom, you ought to see some of Aunt Chloe's pies; they're the right sort,' says I."

"Pity now, Tom couldn't," said Aunt Chloe, on whose benevolent heart the idea of Tom's benighted condition seemed to make a strong impression. "Ye oughter just ask him here to dinner some o' these times, Mas'r George," she added; "it would look quite pretty of ye. Ye know, Mas'r George, ye oughtener feel 'bove nobody on 'count yer privileges, 'cause all our privileges is gi'n to us; we ought al'ays to 'member that," said Aunt Chloe, looking quite serious.

"Well, I mean to ask Tom here some day next week," said George, "and you do your prettiest, Aunt Chloe, and we'll make him stare. Won't we make him eat so he won't get over it for a fortnight?"

"Yes, yes,—sartin," said Aunt Chloe, delighted; "you'll see. Lor! to think of some of our dinners! you mind dat ar great chicken-pie I made when we guv de dinner to General Knox? I and Missis, we came pretty near quarrelling about dat ar crust. What does get into ladies sometimes, I don't know; but sometimes, when a body has de heaviest kind o' sponsibility on 'em, as ye may say, and is all kinder 'seris' and taken up, dey takes dat ar time to be hanging round and kinder interferin'. Now, Missis, she wanted me to do dis way, and she wanted me to do dat way; and, finally, I got kinder sarcy, and, says I, "Now, Missis, do jist look at dem beautiful white hands o' yourn, with long fingers, and all a sparklin' with rings, like my white lilies when de dews on 'em; and look at my great black stumpin' hands. Now, don't ye think dat de Lord must have meant me to make de pie-crust, and you to stay in de parlor? Dar, I was jist so sarcy, Mas'r George."

"And what did mother say!" said George.

"Say?—why, she kinder larfed in her eyes—dem great handsome eyes o' hern; and, says she, 'Well, Aunt Chloe, I think you are about in the right on't,' says she; and she

went off in de parlor. She oughter cracked me over de head for bein' so sarcy; but dar's whar 'tis,—I can't do nothin' with ladies in de kitchen!"

"Well, you made out well with that dinner,—I remember everybody said so," said George.

"Didn't I? And wasn't I behind de dinin-room door dat bery day? and didn't I see de General pass his plate three times for some more dat bery pie?—and, says he, "You must have an uncommon cook, Mrs. Shelby.' Lor, I was fit to split myself." "And de General, he knows what cookin' is," said Aunt Chloe, drawing herself up with an air. "Very nice man, de General! He comes of one of de fustest families in old Virginny! He knows what's what, now, as well as I do,—de General. Ye see, dere's pints in all pies, Mas'r George; but 'tan't everybody knows what they is, or orter be. But the General, he knows; I know by his 'marks he made. Yes, he knows what de pints is!"

By this time, Master George had arrived at that pass to which even a boy can come (under uncommon circumstances), when he really could not eat another morsel, and, therefore he was at leisure to notice the pile of woolly heads

and glistening eyes which were regarding their operations hungrily from the opposite corner.

"Here you, Mose, Pete," he said, breaking off liberal bits, and throwing it at them; "you want some, don't you? Come Aunt Chloe, bake them some cakes."

The different mental habits of the people of the South, generally, when contrasted with those of the North, show sufficiently that all our ideas are accidental, the result of local circumstances. The presence, therefore, of the negro—of a widely different and subordinate element of the population, which had to be provided for by the local Legislatures, their specific wants as well as those of the whites looked after, and their social adaptations rendered harmonious with the welfare of the whites—naturally developed new ideas of government and new modes of thought in the dominant and governing race.

The South was originally settled, to a very large extent, by the offspring of the old Norman Chivalry, by the cavaliers, the descendants of the proudest, most war-like, most chivalrous, heroic, and enterprising, and at the same time, most tyrannical and oppressive aristocracy the world has ever seen. These descendants of

the old Norman race in the South have changed completely about, and though their ancestors were the main supporters of kingly despotism, they are the originators and champions of democracy in America.

The cause of this transformation, this radical and extraordinary change of opinion, which has made the descendants of the proudest and most despotic aristocracy ever known the authors and main supporters of democracy, must be a potent one, and as far removed from the ordinary causes which, in the progress of time, modify men's opinions and habits, as the results themselves are extraordinary and without parallel. They were in juxtaposition with negroes, with an inferior race, with widely different and subordinate social elements, and new thoughts, new ideas, as well as altogether different habits, naturally and necessarily followed.

They saw these negroes were different beings from themselves, not in color alone, or in other physical characteristics, but in their mental qualities, their affections, their wants—in short, in their *nature* and the necessities of their social life, their welfare and happiness; and, indeed, the welfare of this subordinate element demanded corresponding action, with, of course,

corresponding ideas and modes of thought. They saw that this negro was not artificially or accidentally, but naturally, different from themselves; that God Himself had made him different and gave him different faculties and different wants, and therefore designed him for different purposes, and that it was an imperative and unavoidable duty as well as necessity to adapt their social habits and legal and political institutions to this state or condition of fixed and unalterable *fact*. But this was not all, nor the limit to the new ideas that thus originated in the changed conditions under which they were living. Their traditions, the mental habits of their old cavalier ancestry, the ideas they carried from the mother country, taught them to regard the person of a king as something quite sacred, and to whom an absolute and unquestioning obedience was always due, while the class of gentlemen, the nobility or aristocracy, that more immediately surrounded royalty was deemed to be altogether superior and different from the vulgar multitudes that made up the people.

But the descendants of the Cavaliers in the South were placed face to face with facts that utterly exploded these artificial sentiments that

had their origin in a certain condition of society, and not in nature or in the natural relations of men. They were in juxtaposition with negroes, with different and subordinate beings, human, it is true, like themselves, but different human beings, that no amount or extent of sentiment, theory, or mental habit could explain away or modify, or avoid in any respect. They saw this fact daily staring them in the face; they were compelled to recognize it, to legislate for it, or for these people, to adapt their social customs to it, in short to conform to it, and therefore, were forced to cast aside their preconceived notions, the traditions and mental habits of their ancestors, their ideas of loyalty to a creature like themselves, and of their own class-superiority which they had brought from the old world.

What was their fancied superiority over their own humbler brethren, when contrasted with this *natural* inferiority of the negro?

What was the accident of education, of wealth, of refinement of manners, or any other artificial, temporary, or accidental thing worth, which separated them from their less fortunate neighbors, when compared with the handiwork of nature, with the fixed and impassable barriers that separated them both from negroes?

What, in short, were the petty distinctions of human pride, vanity and accident, in comparison with the ordinances of the Eternal?

Such were the facts that confronted them; such the external circumstances that developed new ideas and new modes of thought in them; such the potent causes that changed the descendants of English cavaliers into the earliest, most consistent, and most reliable champions of democracy in America. This is as true now as it was before the political status of the negro was changed, and there are sound and rational views of liberty and equality of white men or democracy, or imperfect and unsound nations in proportion to the absence of this negro element. Those States like Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, and Alabama, that have relatively the largest negro populations, are the most decidedly and consistently democratic, while Massachusetts, Vermont, etc., with the fewest negroes among them, are the most unsound in these respects, and however intelligent in regard to other things, are certainly behind the South in political knowledge.

Northern residents, and more especially Northern visitors to the South, are agreeably surprised at the politeness of the whole peo-

ple, caused by this democratic equality of white men. The negroes, imitating their masters are polite and courteous to every one. No man in the South would dare make a breach of politeness, not even to the humblest laborer without the hazard of being knocked down.

It was "slavery," or the presence of the negro element in our midst that gave origin to the southern idea of democracy—or more expanded and truthful conceptions of our true relations to each other, which led Mr. Jefferson to promulgate the grand idea of equality in 1776—to make that great movement a revolution of ideas as well as a war of independence—to render the latter a mere preliminary for ushering in a new political system based on the equal rights of citizenship and the starting-point of a new civilization, widely and radically different in its fundamental idea from anything ever before known in the political experience of mankind.

But Southern Democracy or political equality of white men does not suit the North. Where there are no negroes they are compelled to make a servile class of the white race, and a Northern majority have opposed Southern

Democracy or equality of white men, and labored incessantly to return to the European idea of class distinctions, and to render the government an instrument for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many.

They have created national banks, demanded favors for those engaged in manufactures; for others engaged in Northern fisheries, for the benefit of bands of jobbers and speculators, under pretense of internal improvements; in short, the Northern majority have labored blindly to reduce themselves to tenants on the land for other men just as the negroes are in the South. The great question that is agitating the minds of the Northern and Western farmers at the present time is escape from their condition. There is but one way out of their dilemma and that is to abandon class legislation or paternalism, and adopt the Southern idea of democracy or equality of white men. The Southern slave masters have had two hundred years' experience in administering paternalism to the negroes, and paternalism will enslave any men. The Northern people could not understand why the slaves in the South did not rise up against their masters and strike for freedom. It was just as difficult for the slaves in the South to

get their consent to strike against their masters voluntarily, as it is for Northern men to get their consent to vote against the pensions they get from the Government. The South knows the danger of paternalism, and Northern men who draw pensions can realize how difficult it would be for them to reject it. Still the pensions they draw, or paternalism in any other form, will enslave them. There is another danger. The young men of the South are proud and ambitious of mending their wasted fortunes, and temptation may yet induce them to abandon Democracy and unite with the millionaires of the North to make their millions; and if they do, the rest make look out.

In order that the people of the Northern States may better understand the character of the Southern people, it is only necessary to refer to history.

"The Northmen, the robust and enterprising fishermen of the Baltic, the filibusters and pirates of the Northern seas, invaded France and conquered Normandy, and Rolla and his roving horde of followers threatened to overrun Paris, and indeed the whole kingdom. They finally settled down in Normandy, from which, at a later date, they emerged into Italy, con-

quered Naples, the island of Sicily, and for a long time threatened an invasion of the Oriental world, which could hardly have resisted such an indomitable race of men. William the Conquerer, a Duke of Normandy, at that time laid claim to the crown of England, and with forty thousand followers landed in that country, and in a single battle so completely demolished the 'Anglo-Saxons' and Anglo-Saxonism, so much boasted of in these days, that the former have remained slaves ever since, and the latter was so utterly annihilated that it disappeared forever on that fatal day at Hastings. Then, for the first time, the Northmen assumed the distinct form of an aristocracy or privileged order. Though they had long since cast off the rude habits and uncouth manners of adventurers and conquerors, and when they invaded England were, perhaps, as intelligent and refined as any similar number of European people, and a great deal more so than those they conquered in England, they had never assumed the form, enacted laws, or established rules and regulations as an aristocracy or governing class.

"From this time forth, however, the Norman aristocracy ruled England with an iron hand, and though the wars of the Roses, and the still

more fatal conflict with the Puritans or middle class, exterminated or drove out the remains of the Norman blood, and there is little, if any, in England at this time, the country is still governed by the traditions, the habits, in short, the system established by the old Norman aristocracy.

"Most of the great families became extinct, while the younger sons and others of broken fortunes emigrated to Virginia, and with the establishment of the Commonwealth, very many of the Norman ancestry abandoned England. So many and so strong were the remnants of the old Norman families in Virginia, that they refused to recognize the Commonwealth, and actually set at defiance the formidable power and iron will of Cromwell. But these remains of the old Norman aristocracy—that aristocracy which for several centuries governed England —have left their impress, their habits, their laws of primogeniture, their feudalistic customs, so deeply engraved on the English mind, that the aristocracy of the day, though entirely modern and with scarcely any family connection with it, is able to govern the masses, through these habitudes, as absolutely as the Normans once did by the sword and the strong hand of arbitrary power."

The fatal battle of Hastings enslaved the people in England, and their descendants are the coal diggers and hewers of wood there this day.

At the surrender of General Lee and his army, the Federal soldiers, conscious that the war was a political trick, made no demonstrations of joy whatever—they could not rejoice at their physical victory and political defeat.

The South had no voice in the Government at that time, and the people of the Northern States went blindly into paternalism, the very thing that the Republican party was aiming at all the time.

The Southern slave masters administered paternalism to the negroes from 1619, the date of their first arrival in this country, to 1865, and after fighting four years to break it up in the South, the people of the Northern States went blindly into it themselves. Now, there is one thing they may depend upon. They must either give up paternalism or be enslaved, for it will enslave any man.

There is nothing more certain than losing their homes if they hold on to paternalism. The pensions paid out in the Northern States are only a mess of pottage for their birth-right.

They must either give up the pensions and the protective tariff tax or become tenants on the land for other men just like the negroes are in the South. Which will they do? The choice is left with them. If they haven't got intelligence enough in the Northern States to know what is their own interest they must abide by the consequences. When the scales fall from their eyes they will all say "I once was blind but now I see."

There will always be men smart enough to get what each other makes without the government aiding them, and any men who will deliberately and of their own accord vote the money out of their own into the pockets of other men for a mess of pottage ought to be enslaved.

The allurements of paternalism have already dispossessed the farmers of the Northern and Western States of their land to a great extent, and when they fully lose their homes and become tenants for other men they will have to obey their masters just as slaves always have done.

Changing the political status of the negro did not set him free. He is still dependent

and a tenant on the land in the South for his white master.

Give us political equality of white men, then the negro will get the freedom due his faithful, trusty, servile race.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MISTAKES OF THE ABOLITION PARTY.

NEGRO servants were introduced into Spain by the Arabian and Moorish conquerors. From time immemorial negro "slaves" were the favorite household servants of the Oriental Caucasians—not alone because they were the most docile and submissive of human beings—but because they were the most faithful, and absolutely incapable of betraying their masters, and scarcely a Moorish family of consideration entered Spain without being accompanied by some of their trusty and favorite servants.

The Portuguese discoveries and conquests on the African coast had also brought many negroes into the Peninsula, and when Columbus and the Spaniards began their settlements in the New World, there were negroes to be found in almost every town in Spain.

The Southern slave masters who practically understands the negro, knows that the strongest affection his nature is capable of feeling is

love for his master—that affection for wife, parents, or offspring, all sink into insignificance in comparison with the strong and devoted love he gives to the superior being who guides, cares, and provides for all his wants.

See Van Every on "White Supremacy and Negro Subordination."

The introduction of negro labor into Spain, to compete with white labor, was one of the prime causes that led to the expulsion of the Moors.

Ferdinand and Isabella in yielding to the popular clamor of their subjects consented to the expulsion of the negroes with their Moorish masters, and most of them were sent across the strait with them, but the recent discoveries in America opened up new fields for settlement and a great many negroes were brought to the Spanish colonies. Columbus brought negroes to the West India Islands in his earliest voyages, and the Portuguese finally sent all of their negroes to Brazil. The reader can now see how the Abolitionists in Spain and Portugal succeeded in ridding the Iberian Peninsula of the negroes. Selling their slaves was a method adopted by the early Abolitionists in the New England States

for getting rid of their negroes; and as a natural consequence white people succeeded them as servants.

Ever since the Declaration of Independence, freedom has been shouted to the school boy, and of course where so much freedom is talked of the white servants of the Northern States began to inquire where their freedom was?

They saw plainly that the negro servants debarred them from the South and forced them to serve their own class superiority in the Northern States, and in turn they became the Abolitionists, and their masters the Republicans.

Antagonistic to each other as they were, they colluded against the South to accomplish their respective purposes, and the Abolitionists allowed their leader (Lincoln) to be nominated by the Republicans to secure his election. In his message of December 3, 1861, the great Abolition President recommended that the United States should take steps to colonize the negroes somewhere in a climate congenial to them.

It is in times of great revolutions that genius shows itself. The South was prostrate beneath the foot of the soldier during the war,

and a President of genius might have governed the North with the crook of his finger.

Had Lincoln been such a one he might have marched every negro out of the south, down through Mexico to Central America where he proposed to colonize them.

He might have applied the scourge to the back of the northern people, and they would have yelped under it as submissively as any hound. But he was not the man to conceive the emergency, or to avail himself of it. He, on the contrary, sent his legions under Sherman to devastate the South.

The following extracts from a pamphlet on the destruction of Columbia, South Carolina, published in 1865, was written by the gifted and accomplished William Gilmore Simmes, LL. D.

The facts therein set forth by Dr. Simmes, show the mistakes of the Abolition party in letting loose their soldiers for plunder instead of marching the negroes out of the country.

"The destruction of Atlanta, the pillaging and burning of other towns of Georgia, and the subsequent devastation along the march of the Federal army through Georgia, gave sufficient earnest of the treatment to be antici-

pated by South Carolina should the same commander be permitted to make a like progress in our State.

"The Northern press furnished him the *cri de guerre* to be sounded when he should cross our border.

"'Væ Victis;'—Woe to the conquered:—in the case of a people who had first raised the banner of Secession.

"'The howl of delight.' (Such was the language of the Northern press), sent up by Sherman's legions, when they looked across the Savannah to the shores of Carolina, was the sure fore-runner of the terrible fate which threatened our people should the soldiers be once let loose upon our lands. Our people felt all the danger.

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"The march of the Federals into our State was characterized by such scenes of license, plunder and general conflagration, as very soon showed that the threats of the Northern press, and of their soldiery, were not to be regarded as mere *brutum fulmen.* Day by day brought to the people of Columbia tidings of atrocities committed, and more extended progress. Daily did long trains of fugitives line

the roads, with wives and children, and horses and stock and cattle, seeking refuge from the pursuers.

"Long lines of wagons covered the highways. Half-naked people cowered from the winter under bush-tents in the thickets, under the eaves of houses, under the railroad sheds, and in old cars left them along the route. All these repeated the same story of suffering, violence, poverty and nakedness. Habitation after habitation, village after village—one sending up its signal flames to the other, presaging for it the same fate—lighted the winter and midnight sky with crimson horrors.

"No language can describe nor can any catalogue furnish an adequate detail of the wide spread destruction of houses and property. Granaries were emptied, and where the grain was not carried off, it was strewn to waste under the feet of the cavalry, or consigned to the fire which consumed the dwelling. The negroes were robbed equally with the whites of food and clothing. The roads were covered with butchered cattle, hogs, mules, and the costliest furniture. Valuable cabinets, rich pianos, were not only hewn to pieces, but

bottles of ink, turpentine, oil, whatever could efface or destroy, was employed to defile and ruin. Horses were ridden into the houses. People were forced from their beds, to permit the search after hidden treasures.

"The beautiful homesteads of the Parish Country, with their wonderful tropical gardens, were ruined; ancient dwellings of black cypress, one hundred years old, which had been reared by the fathers of the Republic—men whose names were famous in Revolutionary history—were given to the flames as recklessly as were the rude hovels; choice pictures and works of art, from Europe, select and numerous libraries, objects of peace wholly, were all destroyed.

"The inhabitants, black no less than white, were left to starve, compelled to feed only upon the garbage to be found in the abandoned camps of the soldiers. The corn scraped up from the spots where the horses fed, has been the only means of life left to thousands but lately in affluence. And thus plundering, and burning, the troops made their way through a portion of Beaufort into Barnwell District, where they pursued the same game. The villages of Buford's Bridge, of Barnwell,

Blackville, Grahams, Bamberg, Midway, were more or less destroyed; the inhabitants everywhere left homeless and without food. The horses and mules, all cattle and hogs, whenever fit for service or for food, were carried off, and the rest shot. Every implement of the workman or the farmer, tools, plows, hoes, gins, looms, wagons, vehicles, were made to feed the flames.

"From Barnwell to Orangeburg and Lexington was the next progress, marked everywhere by the same sweeping destruction. Both of these Court towns were partially burned.

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"Hardly had the troops reached the head of Main street, when the work of pillage was begun. Stores were broken open within the first hour after their arrival, and gold, silver, jewels, and liquors, eagerly sought. The authorities, officers, soldiers, all, seemed to consider it a matter of course. And woe to him who carried a watch with a gold chain pendant; or who wore a choice hat, or overcoat, or boots or shoes. He was stripped in the twinkling of an eye. It is computed that, from first to last, twelve hundred watches were transferred from the pockets of their owners

to those of the soldiers. Purses shared the same fate; nor was the Confederate currency repudiated. But of all these things hereafter, in more detail. At about 12 o'clock, the jail was discovered to be on fire from within. This building was immediately in rear of the Market, or City Hall, and in a densely built portion of the city. The supposition is that it was fired by some of the prisoners—all of whom were released and subsequently followed the army. The fire of the jail had been preceded by that of some cotton piled in the streets. Both fires were soon subdued by the firemen. At about half-past one p. m., that of the jail was rekindled, and was again extinguished. Some of the prisoners, who had been confined at the Asylum, had made their escape, in some instances, a few days before, and were secreted and protected by citizens. No one felt safe in his own dwelling; and, in the faith that General Sherman would respect the Convent, and have it properly guarded, numbers of young ladies were confided to the care of the Mother Superior, and even trunks of clothes and treasure were sent thither, in full confidence that they would find safety. Vain illusions! The Irish Catholic troops, it ap-

pears, were not brought into the city at all; were kept on the other side of the river. But a few Catholics were collected among the corps which occupied the city, and of the conduct of these, a favorable account is given. One of them rescued a silver goblet of the church, used as a drinking cup by a soldier, and restored it to the Rev. Dr. O'Connell. This priest, by the way, was severely handled by the soldiers. Such, also, was the fortune of the Rev. Mr. Shand, of Trinity (the Episcopal) Church, who sought in vain to save a trunk containing the sacred vessels of his church. It was violently wrested from his keeping, and his struggle to save it only provoked the rougher usage. We are since told that, on reaching Camden, General Sherman restored what he believed were these vessels to Bishop Davis. It has since been discovered that the plate belonged to St. Peter's Church, in Charleston.

"And here it may be well to mention, as suggestive of many clues, an incident which presented a sad commentary on that confidence in the security of the convent, which was entertained by the great portion of the people. This establishment, under the charge of the sister of the

Right Rev. Bishop Lynch, was at once a convent and an academy of the highest class. Hither were sent for education the daughters of Protestants, of the most wealthy classes throughout the State; and these, with the nuns and those young ladies sent thither on the emergency, probably exceeded one hundred. The Lady Superior herself entertained the fullest confidence in the immunities of the establishment. But her confidence was clouded after she enjoyed a conference with a certain major of the Yankee army, who described himself as an editor from Detroit. He visited her at an early hour in the day, and announced his friendly sympathies with the Lady Superior and the Sisterhood; professed his anxiety for their safety, his purpose to do all that he could to insure it—declared that he would instantly go to Sherman and secure a chosen guard; and, altogether, made such professions of love and service as to disarm those suspicions which his bad looks and bad manners, inflated speech and pompous carriage might otherwise have provoked. The Lady Superior, with such a charge in her hands, was naturally glad to welcome all shows and prospects of support, and expressed her gratitude. He disappeared, and soon

after reappeared, bringing with him no less than eight or ten men—none of them, as he admitted, being Catholics. He had some specious argument to show that, perhaps, her guard had better be one of Protestants. This suggestion staggered the lady a little, but he seemed to convey a more potent reason when he added, in a whisper: "For I must tell you, my sister, that *Columbia is a doomed city.*" Terrible doom! This officer, leaving his men behind him, disappeared, to show himself no more. The guards so left behind were finally among the most busy as plunderers. The moment that the inmates, driven out by the fire, were forced to abandon their house, they began to revel in its contents.

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"But the reign of terror did not fairly begin till night. In some instances, where parties complained of the misrule and robbery, their guards said to them, with a chuckle: 'This is nothing; wait till to-night, and you'll see h—ll.'

"Among the first fires at evening was one about dark, which broke out in a filthy purlieu of low houses, of wood, on Gervar's Street, occupied mostly as brothels. Almost

at the same time, a body of the soldiers scattered over the eastern out-skirts of the city, fired severally the dwellings of Mr. Secretary Trenholm, General Wade Hampton, Dr. John Wallace, J. U. Adams, Mrs. Starke, Mr. Latta, Mrs. English, and many others.

"There were then some twenty fires in full blast, in as many different quarters, and while the alarm sounded from these quarters, a similar alarm was sent up almost simultaneously from Cotton Town, the northermost limit of the city, and from Main Street in its very centre, at the several stores or houses of O. Z. Bates, C. D. Eberhardt, and some others, in the heart of the most densely settled portion of the town; thus enveloping in flames almost every section of the devoted city. At this period, thus early in the evening, there were few shows of that drunkenness which prevailed at a late hour in the night, and only after all the grocery shops on Main Street had been rifled. The men engaged in this were well prepared with all the appliances essential to their work.

"They did not need the torch. They carried with them from house to house, pots and vessels containing combustible liquids, composed

probably of phosphorus and other similar agents, turpentine, etc., and, with balls of cotton saturated in this liquid, with which they also over-spread floors and walls, they conveyed the flames with wonderful rapidity from dwelling to dwelling. Each had his ready box of lucifer matches, and with a scrape upon the walls the flames began to rage; where houses were closely contiguous, a brand from one was the means of conveying destruction to the other.

"The winds favored. They had been high throughout the day, and steadily prevailed from south-west by west, and bore the flames eastward. To this fact we owe the preservation of the portions of the city lying west of Assembly Street.

"The work begun thus vigorously, went on without impediment, and was hourly increased throughout the night.

"Engines and hose were brought out by the firemen, but these were soon driven from their labors—which were indeed idle against such a storm of fire by the pertinacious hostility of the soldiers; the hose was hewn to pieces, and the firemen dreading worse usage to themselves, left the field in despair. Meanwhile,

the flames spread from side to side, from front to rear, from street to street, and where their natural and inevitable progress was too slow for those who had kindled them, they helped them on by the application of fresh combustibles and more rapid agencies of conflagration.

"By midnight, Main street, from its northern to its southern extremity, was a solid wall of fire. By 12 o'clock, the great blocks, which included the banking houses and the Treasury buildings, were consumed; Jenney's (Congaree) and Nickerson's hotels; the magnificent manufactories of Evans & Cogswell—indeed, every large block in the business portion of the city; the old Capitol and all the adjacent buildings were in ruins.

"The range called the 'Granite' was beginning to flame at 12, and might have been saved by ten vigorous men, resolutely working.

"At 1 o'clock, the hour was struck by the clock of the Market Hall, which was even then illuminated from within. It was its own last hour which it sounded, and its tongue was silenced forevermore. In less than five minutes after, its spire went down with a crash, and, by this time, almost all the build-

ings within the precinct were in a mass of ruins. Very grand, and very terrible, beyond description, was the awful spectacle. It was a scene for the painter of the terrible. It was the blending of a range of burning mountains stretched in a continuous series for more than a mile. Here was Ætna, sending up its spouts of flaming lava; Vesuvius, emulous of like display, shooting up with loftier torrents, and Stromboli, struggling, with awful throes, to shame both by its superior volumes of fluid flame. The winds were tributary to these convulsive effects and tossed the volcanic torrents hundreds of feet in air. Great spouts of flame spread aloft in canopies of sulphurous cloud—wreaths of sable, edged with sheeted lightnings, wrapped the skies, and, at short intervals, the falling tower and the tottering wall, avalanche-like, went down with thunderous sound, sending up at every crash great billowing showers of glowing fiery embers.

"Throughout the whole of this terrible scene, the soldiers continued their search after spoil. The houses were severally and soon gutted of their contents. Hundreds of iron safes, warranted "impenetrable to fire and the burglar," it was soon satisfactorily demon-

strated, were not 'Yankee proof.' They were split open and robbed, yielding, in some cases, very largely of Confederate money and bonds, if not of gold and silver. Jewelry and plate in abundance was found.

"Men could be seen staggering off with huge waiters, vases, candelabra, to say nothing of cups, goblets and smaller vessels, all of solid silver.

"Clothes and shoes, when new, were appropriated—the rest left to burn. Liquors were drank with such avidity as to astonish the veteran Bacchanals of Columbia; nor did the parties thus distinguishing themselves hesitate about the vintage. There was no idle discrimination in the matter of taste, from that vulgar liquor, which Judge Burke used to say always provoked within him "an inordinate propensity to sthale," to the choicest red wines of the ancient cellars. In one vault on Main street, seventeen casks of wine were stored away, which, an eye-witness tells us, barely sufficed, once broken into, for the draughts of a single hour—such were the appetites at work and the numbers in possession of them. Rye, corn, claret, and Madeira, all found their way into the same channels, and we are not

to wonder when told that no less than one hundred and fifty of the drunken creatures perished miserably among the flames kindled by their comrades, and from which they were unable to escape.

"The estimate will not be thought extravagant by those who saw the condition of hundreds after 1 a. m. By others, however, the estimate is reduced to thirty; but the number will never be known. Sherman's officers themselves are reported to have said that they lost more men in the sack and burning of the city than in all their fights while approaching it. It is also suggested that the orders which Sherman issued at daylight on Saturday morning, for the arrest of the fire, were issued in consequence of the loss of men which he had thus sustained. One or more of his men were shot by parties unknown in some dark passages or alleys—it is supposed in consequence of some attempted outrages which humanity could not endure—the assassin taking advantage of the obscurity of the situation and adroitly mingling with the crowd without.

"And while these scenes were at their worst—while the flames were at their highest and most extensively raging—groups might be seen at

the several corners of the streets drinking, roaring, revelling, while the fiddle and accordion were playing their popular airs among them. There was no cessation of the work till 5 a. m. on Saturday.

* * * * * *

"Ladies were hustled from their chambers—their ornaments plucked from their persons, their bundles from their hands. It was in vain that the mother appealed for the garments of her children. They were torn from her grasp and hurled into the flames. The young girl striving to save a single frock had it rent to fibres in her grasp. Men and women bearing off their trunks were seized, despoiled, in a moment the trunk burst open with the stroke of axe or gun butt, the contents laid bare, rifled of all the objects of desire, and the residue sacrificed to the fire. You might see the ruined owner standing, woe-begone, aghast, gazing at his tumbling dwelling, his scattered property, with a dumb agony in his face that was inexpressibly touching.

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"Your watch!" "Your money!" was the demand. Frequently no demand was made. Rarely, indeed, was a word spoken where the

watch, or chain, or ring, or bracelet presented itself conspicuously to the eye. It was incontinently plucked away from the neck, breast or bosom. Hundreds of women, still greater numbers of old men, were thus despoiled. The slightest show of resistance provoked violence to the person. The venerable Mr. Alfred Huger was thus robbed in the chamber and presence of his family, and in the eye of an almost dying wife. He offered resistance, and was collared and dispossessed by violence. We are told that the venerable ex-Senator Colonel Arthur P. Hayne was treated even more roughly.

* * * * * *

"Within the dwellings the scenes were of more harsh and tragical character, rarely softened by any ludicrous aspects, as they were screened by the privacy of the apartment, with but few eyes to witness. The pistol to the bosom or head of women, the patient mother, the trembling daughter, was the ordinary introduction to the demand, "Your gold, silver, watch, jewels." They gave no time, allowed no pause or hesitation. It was in vain that the woman offered her keys, or proceeded to open drawer, or wardrobe, or cabinet, or trunk. It was dashed to pieces by axe or gun butt,

with the cry, "We have a shorter way than that!" It was in vain that she pleaded to spare her furniture, and she would give up all its contents. All the precious things of a family, such as the heart loves to pore over in quiet hours when alone with memory—the dear miniature, the photograph, the portrait—these were dashed to pieces, crushed under foot, and the more the trembler pleaded for the object so precious, the more violent the rage which destroyed it. Nothing was sacred in their eyes save the gold and silver which they bore away. Nor were these acts those of the common soldiers. Commissioned officers of rank as high as that of Colonel were frequently among the most active in spoliation, and not always the most tender or considerate in the manner and acting of their crimes. And after glutting themselves with spoil would often utter the foulest speeches, coupled with oaths as condiment, dealing in what they assumed, besides, to be bitter sarcasms upon the cause and country.

"And what do you think of the Yankees now?" was a frequent question.

"Do you not fear us now?"

"What do you think of secession?" etc., etc.

"We mean to wipe you out. We'll burn the very stones of South Carolina."

Even General Howard, who is said to have been once a *pious* parson, is reported to have made this reply to a citizen who had expostulated with him on the monstrous crime of which his army had been guilty:

"It is only what the country deserves. It is her fit punishment; and if this does not quiet rebellion and we have to return we will do this work thoroughly. We will not leave woman or child.

* * * * * *

"There are some horrors which the historian dare not pursue—which the painter dare not delineate. They both drop the curtain over crimes which humanity bleeds to contemplate. Some incidents of gross brutality which show how well prepared were these men for every crime, however monstrous, may be given.

"A lady undergoing the pains of labor had to be borne out on a mattress into the open air to escape the fire. It was in vain that her situation was described as the soldiers applied the torch within and without the house. After they had penetrated every chamber and robbed them of all that was

either valuable or portable they beheld the situation of the sufferer and laughed to scorn the prayer for her safety.

"Another lady, Mrs. J——, was but recently confined. Her condition was very helpless. Her life hung upon a hair. The men were apprised of all the facts in the case. They burst into the chamber—took the rings from the lady's fingers—plucked the watch from beneath her pillow, and so overwhelmed her with terror that she sunk under the treatment, surviving their departure but a day or two.

"In several instances, parlors, articles of crockery, and even beds, were used by the soldiers as if they were water-closets. In one case a party used vessels in this way, then put them on the bed, fired at and smashed them to pieces, emptying the filthy contents over the bedding.

"In several cases newly made graves were opened, the coffins taken out, broken open in search of buried treasure, and the corpses left exposed. Every spot in a graveyard or garden which seemed to have been recently disturbed was sounded with sword or bayonet or ramrod, in their desperate *search after* spoil."

The pillaging and burning of Columbia was one of the many great feasts of the kind that the Abolition soldiers had in their anticipation of dividing up the Southern plantations into small Yankee farms. But it seems as if God turned against them in the very hour of their wickedness, for they were not only not allowed to enjoy the spoil of the city, for it was consigned to the flame and one hundred and fifty drunken soldiers fell into the fire and were burnt to death.

When Sherman heard of this he ordered his soldiers to cease burning the city lest his whole army might get drunk and fall into the fire. He then marched on to North Carolina and carried destruction into that State.

The soldiers took delight in telling the citizens of North Carolina how they humbled South Carolina, and how they cured her of nullifying.

"We will divide up her plantations into small Yankee farms," said they.

In reply to a number of them thus boasting one day, an old farmer said:—

"Did it never occur to you that in "curing" South Carolina that you have also ruined yourselves? You will not be allowed to divide

up a single plantation nowhere in the South, but you will be taxed out of your own homes and you will be reduced to tenant farmers all over the North on the very land that you now own. You are nothing but tools in the hands of politicians. You and your children will become tramps and vagabonds and will wander all over the South and beg bread of the well-fed negroes, and sleep upon a bed of grass by the roadside like the beast of the field, for nobody in the South will give you employment and you will have to go back North and work for your Yankee boss for such wages as he may see fit to pay you. God's Providence punishes transgressors, and He has decreed that your children's children shall pour out their sweat in unrequited toil, until they put back two dollars for every one that you have destroyed in the South."

Mr. Porter in making the census of Kansas mortgages gives the country the astonishing information that the mortgages on lands alone, exclusive of chattels, are over 80 per cent. of the assessed value of all the property, real and personal, in the State, railroads alone excepted.

With $290,593,000 of real and personal property in the State, the census gives Kansas a

mortgage debt of $235,485,000 on land alone. Nor is the case of Kansas an exceptional one. Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska and all of the other Abolition States of the West are not far behind it.

The mortgages on Western farm lands are held by Eastern capitalists, who collect their rents in the West and invest the money in the South building cotton mills, rolling mills, blast furnaces, and factories of all kinds, and in this way the Western Abolitionists are made to replace by their own labor every dollar they destroyed in Sherman's march to the sea. But here is something else still more singular to relate which is very edifying to the Southern people. They never cast a vote for Abraham Lincoln, neither did he ever rule over them a day.

After fighting four years to expel the negroes not one did they ever send from the country. They were not only left here as their industrial competitors, but they were enfranchised to vote against them, and the Abolitionists themselves voted with the Republican party and assisted them in making the negroes their own political opponents as well as their industrial competitors.

Why the soldiers of the Abolition party should go home and vote to enfranchise the slaves after fighting four years to expel them from the country may be accounted for in this way. There is a law in nature in which extremes meet, and the reaction is always violent in proportion to the violence of the action. Therefore the effort to expel the slaves resulted in their enfranchisement, just as the attempt to divide up the Southern plantations into small Yankee farms resulted in the Yankees losing their own farms. Now, by following this law we can see that Communism has cost the people their liberties in Europe, and it has cost the people their liberties in this country.

The loss of liberty is hard, but it is a law of nature to punish transgressors, a law which all transgressors are compelled to obey. Transgressors cannot conceal their acts, neither can their friends for them, for they are transgressors too.

In the case of Lincoln public exposure has been made by dramatizing his assassination and presenting the scene as a play in the theatres for public amusement.

It is said by those who have seen it that men rise up in their seats and stretch out

their necks as if they were eager to see at the critical moment in the play and say:

"Look, look, they are going to shoot old Abe Lincoln. He is the man who unwittingly destroyed American liberty."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MISTAKES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

NATURE, the great mistress of wisdom, has created superior and inferior races of men, and subordination of the inferior to the superior race is the natural relation to each other.

The inferior is contented in subordination to the superior for benefits they receive from their masters. But subordination of the superior to the superior race traverses the laws of nature.

The chosen people of God, by the Levitical law, proclaimed under Divine sanction, were authorized to hold slaves—not of their own race—(of these they were to hold bondmen for a term of years)—hence our apprentice laws, but of the heathen around them—of these they were authorized to buy slaves, "bondmen" and "bondwomen," for life, who were to be to them "an inheritance" and possession forever."

Now, in obedience to these Divine laws the

white people of the Southern States bought slaves, not of their own race, but of the negro race.

But the white people of the Northern States did not agree with them and the Republican party have learned by experience that it is blasphemous for them or any of His creatures to set up their notions in opposition to His immediate and acknowledged Revelation. For the natural subordination of the negro underbids the white man in all of the menial occupations and duties of life which forces him to elevate himself to the higher plane of his own superior race. Hence the equality of white men and the superiority of the Southern people.

In surveying the whole civilized world the eyes rests not on a single spot where the individual man, black or white, is exhibited in a higher development, or society in a happier civilization than in the Southern States of this Union.

The natural subordination of the negro not only forces the white man to elevate himself to the Southern standard of high moral bearing, without which more harm will come to men and women than good, but strengthens the attachment of the dominant race to liberty,

whilst on the other hand the natural subordination of the inferior to the superior race has weaned a race of savages from superstition and idolatry, imparted to them a general knowledge of the principles of the true religion, implanted in their bosom sentiments of humanity and principles of virtue, developed a taste for the arts and enjoyments of civilized life, given an unknown dignity and elevation to their type of physical, moral and intellectual man.

After having thus advanced the Southern negro the Republican party of the Northern States made war upon the South to enfranchise the slaves so that they might have the great and glorious privilege of voting, and thereby become the victims of their own folly just as the white slaves are in the North. But they are secured against their own weakness and folly by the Mississippi plan.

In that State "any person desiring to vote shall apply to the Deputy Commissioner for a ballot, and on receiving the same shall forthwith go into one of the voting compartments and shall prepare his ballot by marking with ink in the appropriate margin or place a cross (×) opposite the name of the candidate

of his choice for each office to be filled, or by filling in the name of the candidate substituted in the blank space as provided therefor and marking a cross (×) opposite thereto. Before leaving the voting shelf, table or compartment the voter shall fold his ballot without displaying the marks thereon, but so that the words "Official Ballot," followed by the designation of the election precinct for which the ballot is prepared and the date of the election shall be visible to the officers of the election.

"He shall then cast his ballot in the manner provided by law, which shall be done without undue delay, and the voter shall then quit the said enclosed place as soon as he has voted. No voter shall be allowed to occupy a voting shelf, table or compartment already occupied by another voter, nor longer than ten minutes if other voters are not waiting, nor longer than five minutes in case other voters are waiting.

"No person shall take or remove any ballot from a polling place before the close of the polls. If any voter spoils a ballot, he may obtain others, one at a time, not exceeding three in all, upon returning each spoiled one. Any voter who declares to the person or persons having the official ballots that by reason of blindness or

other physical disability he is unable to mark his ballot, shall, upon request, secure the assistance of said person or one of the election inspectors, in the marking thereof, and such person or officer shall certify on the outside of said ballot that it was marked with his assistance, and shall not otherwise give information in regard to the same.

"No voter shall place any mark upon his ballot by which it may be afterwards identified as the one voted by him.

"No voter shall allow his ballot to be seen by any person, unless from blindness or other physical disability he is unable to mark his own ballot.

"By order of the State Board of Commissioners of Election."

Woe to the political party who founds its hope of sway on the weakness or corruption of the people! The very measures taken by the Republican party to perpetuate its power in the South insured its downfall.

CHAPTER XV.

THE MISTAKES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

THE consequence of the mistakes of the Democratic party is lamentable. Strong, robust men from the North are seen tramping on the highways all over the South with little bundles on their backs knocking at the negro house doors for bread. Rich and joyous sugar planters of Louisiana, is that a thing for you to wink at?

Some of these unfortunate men have no bundles at all, and they camp out by the roadside and sleep upon a bed of grass like the beasts of the field.

The very act of those fugitives knocking at your negro house door for bread tells the tale. They are runaway white slaves from the North. They have made slaves of the white race in the Northern States.

Democrats of the South, you who believe in political equality of white men, is that a thing for you to tolerate?

They have made tenant farmers of Demo-

crats all over the North and the West just as the negroes are in the South.

In surveying the whole political field we can find nobody responsible for their condition but the Northern Democrats themselves. They were told by Abraham Lincoln that the negroes would be colonized and the Southern plantations would be divided up into small Yankee farms; and a great many quit the Democratic party and joined the Abolitionists on that account.

They were told by the Republicans that the protective tariff tax would make them all rich off the South, and a great many joined the Republican party on that account.

They were told by the Southern Democrats that they could not destroy the liberties of the South without losing their own, and they have lost their own.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOSSIPING WITH A LOUISIANA SUGAR PLANTER, WHEREIN THE TRUTH IS RELATED THAT RESEMBLES CURIOUS STORIES.

THE Mississippi. How, as by an enchanted wand, have its scenes been changed since Chateaubriand wrote his prose-poetic description of it, as a river of mighty, unbroken solitudes, rolling amid undreamed of wonders of vegetable and animal existence. But, as in an hour, this river of dreams and wild romance has emerged to a reality scarcely less visionary and splendid What other river of the world bears on its bosom to the ocean the wealth and enterprise of such another country? A country whose products embrace all between the tropics and the poles.

Those turbid waters, hurrying, foaming, tearing along, an apt resemblance of that headlong tide of business which is poured along its wave by a race more vehement and energetic than any the world ever saw.

The slanting light of the setting sun quivers on the sea-like expanse of the river; the fields of sugar-cane, rice and corn glow in the golden ray, as the heavily laden steamboat marches onward, piled with cotton-bales from many a plantation, up over the deck and sides, till she seems in the distance a square, massive block moving heavily onward to the nearing mart. Such is the picture in the Abolition Bible.

The fact is so, but half is not told. Louisiana is favored with such fertile lands as only a few other States contain, and with such an abundance of them as only few other States can exhibit. There is, perhaps, no other country in the world which has such an extensive river bottom. An alluvial plain a hundred miles wide in a mild and happy climate, level as the surface of the ocean, and of inexhaustible fertility, every acre of which is able to produce from sixty to eighty bushels of corn and from one to two bales of cotton, from two to four hogsheads of sugar and from forty to fifty bushels of rough rice.

The rice fields resemble the great wheat fields of Manitoba. Rice is the wheat of the tropics and supplies food for one half of the inhabitants of the earth.

After the lapse of another century, whatever the Delta of the Nile once may have been will only be a shadow of what the alluvial plain of the lower Mississippi River then will be. Cities like Memphis, Thebes, Andropolis, Busiris, Mendes, and Heliopolis once more will spring up. It will be the centre-point, the garden spot of the North American Continent, the scene of action of the busy activity of agricultural manufacture and commerce, where wealth and prosperity will culminate. The splendor of that which is now seen is only the beginning.

The Louisiana low-lands are supplied with a network of water-ways navigable for steamboats through which the Mississippi River discharges its waters, and you can see the plantations to better advantage when the steamboat leaves the great river and steams down one of the bayous, for the sea-like expanse of the river obstructs much from view of the plantation scenes that are interesting to see on both sides of it.

Leaving the Mississippi River at Donaldsonville the packet steams down Bayou Lafourche (the fork), a natural canal connecting the Mississippi River with the Gulf of Mexico. Here they have elevated steamboats, for at

flood tide the water rises to the top of the levees and the steamboats float high above the surrounding plain.

Along this natural canal is, perhaps, the most thickly settled agricultural community in the world, for the fertility of the soil is able to support a large population to the square mile.

As the steamboat floats along you pass by plantation after plantation, and a grand panoramic view of negro cabins, barns, stables, sugar-houses, stores, school-houses, and churches, together with the stately dwellings of the princely planters, present the appearance of a continuous village for miles. Fields of sugar cane, rice and corn expand in the distance until lost to view. In the sugar-making season clouds of black smoke roll upwards from the tall red chimneys of the sugar-houses and a busy scene of activity is presented that may not be looked for anywhere else. Steam dummies haul sugar cane from the distant fields on the plantation railroads. Three mules hitched abreast draw the heavy cane carts. But this external view only serves to give an idea of what there is inside. The traveller, therefore, must stop and go among

SUGAR HOUSE. DOOLAR GROVE.

the planters. He must go into the sugar houses and see what they are doing there. He must visit the sugar planters and gossip with them. On approach you will pass through lawns surrounding the dwellings of these princely fellows that surpass the Government gardens at Washington; for the plants in Louisiana grow in the open air. The banana, fig, orange, lemon, palmetto, live oak, cacti, grasses and flowers all grow in profusion and with a tropical luxuriance, to which has been recently added, oriental fruit trees from China and Japan, consisting of pears, plums, and persimmons in great variety, all of which flourish and add luxury to that already beautiful spot, Southern Louisiana. The interior of the houses is elaborately embellished, and the whole side of rooms filled with books indicate a cultured people. Having previously received an invitation, when passing by I made it convenient to stop and see my friend. After a cordial "howdy do" and introduction to his family, the fields of luxuriant sugar cane that I saw at the plantations had so favorably impressed me I asked the planter if they had a good crop of sugar cane this year? To which he replied at length, saying: "Good

crop of sugar cane? Why sir, we always do have good crops of sugar cane. This is the Louisiana low-lands; —— the Mississippi bottom, it is the very scrapings of the upland dunghills, it is a water deposit, brought down here from the Rocky mountains, the Appalachian range and all of the intermediate country between the highlands. It is the very cream of the country. Why sir, it is as rich as guano-manure. A chemist cannot analyze it; the only way to analyze it is to stir it a little with the hoe and the plow and it brings forth hogsheads of sugar and tons of rice." As the steamboat happened to be a little late on that trip I arrived at my friend's house about sundown. His good wife soon lit the lamps and the reflection of the large plate mirrors gave double size to the appearance of the rooms.

The parlor was furnished with antique oak, mahogany and walnut in the latest styles, and there were some rare pieces of old furniture which is never seen in the "struck ile" families North.

"Come in to supper," said the planter as the bell rang. We went into the dining room and took our seats at the long table

and without apologies of any kind each one turned up their thin china plate and two negro boys in long white aprons "fairly flew" around the table handing hot waffles, biscuits, fried chicken, turkey hash, rice light bread and coffee, which each one sweetened according to taste from sugar bowls that stood conveniently at hand on the table. A general conversation ensued during the meal which was characteristically Southern, and after Supper the planter and myself went into the library to smoke and gossip a little.

Among the Louisiana sugar planters they generally have two parlors in every house. One is called the ladies' parlor, which is filled with fine furniture, musical instruments, paintings and ornaments, and the other is called the gentlemen's parlor or library. The whole side of the room is sometimes filled with books, but the furniture is always plain, a few chairs, a table, writing desk, and a lounge or two, and sometimes a hammock swung in the middle of the room comprise the furniture. Now, it is generally understood among men everywhere that they can enjoy themselves better when left to themselves where they can smoke and gossip to

their own notion, and on that account the sugar planters in Louisiana generally entertain their friends in the library. So accordingly, after supper the planter asked me to go with him into the library, where he opened a box of Havana cigars. After lighting one apiece the overseer came in and made his report, he soon left however, and we began our conversation, but a negro coming to the door, interrupted us by calling to the planter, saying:

"Bob Brown stold one of your fat pigs this morning for his collection to-night and I came up here to tell you that he had it baked and parbiled and hashed up for de niggers to eat at his house to-night.

The planter said to him:

"Go 'long away from here, sir, I told you not to tell me any more plantation news. Go 'way from here, sir."

The negro immediately left, and the planter said:

"He is a meddlesome fellow, he went to the collation and made a fuss with some one there and they drove him away, and he thought that he could get revenge by telling me that they stole one of my fat pigs. He has not

been here very long and he does not know me yet."

I then asked the planter if they stole many of his fat pigs. He replied at length, saying:

"What does a few dozen pigs amount to on a sugar plantation during the year? When the Yankee came here to farm soon after the war, they had the negroes arrested for stealing, and drove the hands from the plantations, they could not discriminate between the value of a negro's work and a fifty-cent pig. They broke all to pieces farming here, and never knew the cause of their failure.

"I tell my negroes when they have a dance to go and take a pig or a goat or a sheep out of the plantation flock—there is no pleasure at a dance without a good supper, and besides, it induces other hands to come to my plantation."

"Then you do not have much faith in Yankee farmers? I said."

"Yankee farmers! Why Sir, Yankee farmers would no more know how to manage a sugar plantation than I would know how to make a Waterbury watch. They do very well at tinkering trades, for they are continually tinkering at one thing and another, and learn

how to tinker just as we learn sugar making in the South.

"Yankee farmers, they batter their hoes and plows against the rocks in New England cultivating a few beans and potatoes, and call it farming. If they were to come down here now and see the improvements we have made they would learn something. They are too picayunish, they would do very well to come here and do their own work until they learn the value of a negro; but their ideas are too small. If a Yankee farmer were to meet a negro in the middle of the road with a hat full of eggs, he would stop him and ask a hundred questions and count the eggs to see how many he had.

"I make my negroes raise my chickens. I tell them there is the barn, go get corn, rice and oats to feed them with. All I want is a supply for my table, but sometimes they bring me chickens and eggs in such quantities I send them back. My wife tried to raise chickens in the yard, once, and she went into the hen-house one day and got chicken lice on her dress, and they got in the bed and made me scratch—I told her to stay out of the hen-house. She does not know anything more

about raising chickens on this plantation than she knows what is in a hen-house in Illinois.

"Yankee farmers. Why Sir, their ideas are too small, a hill of beans and a potatoe patch is all they know about farming. They try to make money on little things, they would break up a goose nest to sell the eggs. I keep goods in my store-room to supply my negroes with to keep them from being cheated at the pluck-me stores, and when they want a hat I hand it out to them, when they want snuff and tobacco I hand it out to them, when they want a dress pattern I hand it out to them, when they want a suit of clothes I hand it out to them. It induces other hands to come to my plantation."

He knocked the ashes from his cigar and went to the side of the room and took a book from the shelf and said:

"This is the Abolition Bible, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Some people call it "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

He turned a few leaves and read the following words:

"Miss Ophelia piled and sorted dishes, emptied dozens of scattering bowls of sugar into one receptacle."

"Miss Ophelia was an old maid from Vermont who came to Louisiana to keep house for her cousin," said the planter, "and coming from such a State she thought that it was a great waste to have more than one sugar bowl about the house."

I then remined the planter that they made some sugar in Vermont as well as Louisiana.

"Certainly they do" he said, "but what kind of sugar is it? They tap the maple trees and get a little juice and boil it down and make some sugar that way, I do not actually believe they make enough in the whole State for a first class Louisiana candy pulling. Dozens of sugar bowls—do you know how they do? What little sugar they make they put chalk and one stuff and another in it."

The planter snuffed the ashes from his cigar again; and holding the book in his hand saying:

"The Abolition Bible is a hard book for some people to understand, just as all Bibles are to understand.

"God's Bible forbids us making slaves of our own race and we made slaves of the negro race, but they made slaves or servants, which

is the same thing of our own race in the Northern States which makes them dissatisfied and they are continually going on strikes and one thing and another.

"The Abolition Bible was written to expel the negroes from the South to free the white slaves in the North, but we objected to it because it would have made slaves of our own race in the South. When Mrs. Stowe wrote the Abolition Bible she thought that it was a revelation to release her from her own condition of slavery.

"She taught school, nursed her children, did her cooking and perhaps her own washing when she was writing it. She did more work than was ever required of a black slave in the South.

"The Abolition Bible says that she was then in the midst of heavy domestic cares, with a young infant, with a party of pupils in her family to whom she was imparting daily lessons with her own children.

"They believed its false doctrine North, because they thought that its political teaching would release them from their own condition of slavery. It is not the first time they have worshiped a false god. They worshiped the

witchcraft doctrine once and failed at that, and the Abolition Bible failed to colonize the negroes for them too."

I then said that some Southern men think that Lincoln was a great and good man.

"Certainly they do," said the planter, "there are some gourd heads in the South who think that he was a good man because he wanted the Government to pay them for their slaves —that was his intention—he wanted Government ownership of the slaves and of course Government colonization of them to free the white slaves North, but it would have made white slaves South without freeing them North. They made slaves of themselves in the Northern States and then blamed the South for their condition. Lincoln recommended compensation with emancipation to tempt the South. It was nothing but the old temptation trick of the devil. He used to go about tempting men himself and he has his agents on earth for that very purpose now, but we have God's Bible to warn us against them. Lincoln was nothing but an agent for the devil and I took my cowhide and fiddle and made my negroes dance when I heard he was assassinated."

When the sugar planter told me in his own library that Lincoln was nothing but an agent for the devil I concluded that I had better turn the conversation lest the ghost of his agent should hear what we said. So I asked the planter if the Republicans in the North really believed in negro equality?

"Certainly they do," he said "I will tell you what I saw of it.

"On my last trip North I arrived in Cincinnati Saturday night, and after breakfast the following Sunday I concluded to walk in the street and see what was going on. I noticed great crowds of men going in and out of a large building, and as I wanted to see some of the sights, curiosity led me in to see what they were doing there.

"Crowds of men were standing at the door, but I pushed my way through and went into the hall. It was one of those immense beer saloons that Cincinnati, O., is noted for. The air was foggy with tobacco smoke and the floor was slimy with beer foam blown from the top of their mugs.

"There they were, negroes and white men, sitting together at little round tables smoking pipes, cigars, cigarettes, and drinking lager

beer and talking negro equality together. The stench was furious, but I held my nose and walked on through the foggy tobacco smoke and took a seat near the back door where a little fresh air came in. As I went into the place to see what was going on, I sat there awhile to see what effect the beer had upon them.

"Negro porters in long white aprons carried tumblers of beer on waiters to those at the little round tables, and the men that stood up and walked about drank at the bar. There must have been at least a thousand men in the place. When the beer began to take effect some of the men at the little round tables hung their heads in a stupor, others tumbled out of their chairs on the floor and negro porters would immediately grab them and carry them up stairs. When the men would hang their heads in a stupor the porters would lead them out into the back yard.

"I asked one of the porters what they carried the men out of door for?

"He said that when the beer began to make them sick they carried them out to the spewing pen.

"I went to the back door to see what the

spewing pen was. It was made of boards about the length of fence rails, like they make a trash pen in the poor land districts of Georgia to put cow manure and ashes in to manure the field with.

"There they were, negroes and white men, standing around leaning over the sides vomiting. I asked one of the porters what they carried some of the men upstairs for?

"He said that they carried those upstairs who could not vomit and let them lie on lounges until the beer died in them.

"I held my nose again and walked through the hall into the street and left Cincinnati Republicans enjoying negro equality and lager beer.

"I went to St. Louis from Cincinnati, but I did not see much negro equality there, for Missouri was one of the slave States, but the muddy water of the Mississippi River that I drank there turned against me and set me to vomiting. As I was walking in the street one day I felt my stomach turn over and I hastened to a drug store nearby and told the Doctor that I was about to throw my insides up.

"He told me to run out through the back

door into the yard to the spewing pen. I got there just in time. The Doctor told me that I had been drinking too much beer. I told told him that I was from the South and did not drink a drop of it, that it was the bad water that made me sick. He gave me some medicine to ease my distracted stomach, and I continued my trip north to St. Paul, and east from there to Boston. A gentleman told me that they had spewing pens all over the North and West for the accommodation of those who drink to much beer.

"When I got to St. Paul I saw negro women ring the door bells and ladies come out and kiss them. No doubt they thought it a great honor to have the negroes to visit them. I thought to myself, surely they have negro equality of the right kind in St. Paul, but when I got to Boston I saw the ladies kiss the negro women on the streets. I asked a Yankee why they kissed the negroes.

"He said that women would have women's ways, but a Southerner told me that it was a Yankee woman's way of hiring a cook. We are more practical in the South, for if any of the negro women on this plantation were to refuse to cook for my wife I would take a stick and knock their eye-balls out."

Miss Mary and Miss Julia, who had come into the library and heard part of the conversation, laughed so immoderately at their father's method of hiring a cook their mother came to the door and said:—

"What are you all laughing at? I think that you had better go into the parlor and play the piano for your company, instead of sitting in this smoking room laughing at your papa's travels, for he always did see things that other people could not see."

"Go and play "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie," said the planter.

We all went into the parlor and heard the music.

Next morning after breakfast we went to the field to see the negroes cutting sugar-cane.

The cane-knife is a steel blade four inches in width and ten in length, handled; and with one lick up and one lick down the fodder is cut off and the cane is cut down. The fodder is very coarse and unfit for cattle to eat, so they burn it off the ground when it gets dry.

Sugar-cane is the greatest saccharine-producing plant we have. It was brought from India to the West Indies, and from there to

Louisiana, where the cultivation of it has enriched the planters. It is a tropical plant, and in Louisiana, where the ground does not freeze, they can raise three or four crops from the old stubbles, but farther north where the cold kills it in the ground, they have to plant it every year, and it ceases to be profitable to cultivate it.

We rambled in the plantation several hours, and I saw such a forest of sugar-cane it looked as though the hands would never be able to clear the fields of it, and I asked the planter if they ever required the negroes to work on Sunday in taking off the crop?

"Certainly we do," he said. "Sunday is, and has been, a gala day from time immemorial in Louisiana. It is a legal holiday as Christmas is, and the eighth day of January, and the fourth day of July. Everybody is supposed to know how to say their own prayers even though they may be seen at the base-ball play, or at work on Sunday.

"The State declares sins off and declares sins on, as they do in Mississippi. Some time ago it was a sin to bet money on horse races in that State, but in order to encourage stock raising the Legislature declared the sin off,

CUTTING SUGARCANE

and now it is legal, and of course morally right to bet on horse races.

"The right to declare sins off and to declare sins on is the States rights doctrine that the Confederate soldiers fought for. It is a privilege that the Southern people will have."

After rambling in the fields all of the morning we went back to the house rather tired, and rested in the library until the dinner was ready.

Whilst we were at dinner the door bell rang and the planter sent one of the negro boys to see who it was at the door. The boy soon came back and said that a tramp was at the door and that he wanted something to eat.

"Go and tell him to come in to dinner," said the planter. "We never send lunches out to men when they call at dinner hour.

"Move your place, Mary," speaking to his daughter, "and let him have a seat at the corner of the table, next to me and away from you girls."

The tramp came in and the planter said:

"Take a seat sir, and have dinner with us, we were nearly through eating, but here is enough left for a hungry man;" and with that he gave one of the waiters a wink, which he

understood, and he handed wine and dish after dish, until the tramp's plate was piled high and his eyes bulged out at the repast spread before him.

"Help yourself, sir," said the planter as he looked at the tramp and saw that he was somewhat embarrassed.

"We are plain people on this plantation, and we like to see everybody enjoy themselves who come about us; eat away now, and fill yourself up, we had nearly finished eating when you came in."

The welcome extended to the tramp whetted his appetite, and he declared that he never enjoyed a dinner so well before.

The dishes were then removed and a new cloth spread, and dessert and coffee was served. After which, the planter's good wife filled the tramp's pocket with nuts and cake and he took his hat and went on his way. We then went into the library to smoke cigars and after lighting them the planter in alluding to the tramp said:—

"Why, sir, he is nothing but a runaway white slave from the North. When they come down South they are obliged to depend either upon the charity of the people, or their in-

dustry, for they are afraid to steal, for the Southern blood hound would catch them before their tracks get cold."

After smoking the cigars the planter ordered his horse and buggy and we drove through the plantation into the next one to the Central sugar factory, but before starting he called a negro boy and said:—

"Go and get me a jug. Run, sir, and bring me an empty jug before I start off."

The negro brought the jug and put it in the buggy, and we drove on to the sugar factory.

On arrival we went into the office and I was introduced to several of the prominent planters of the neighborhood who were there.

The book-keeper was busy at his desk, for they have accounts with several plantations at the central factories. The chief sugar-maker showed me through the factory and we went to the mill first where the sugar cane is crushed.

About fifteen negroes were busy putting sugar-cane on the carrier, which is operated like a band on pulleys to carry the cane to the rollers.

By that device the sugar-cane is fed to the

mill in a mass five feet in width and fifteen inches thick. A stream of the juice flows from the mill as large as a stove pipe.

After passing through four or five rollers the sugar-cane is squeezed perfectly dry by the heavy pressure, and then it is conveyed to a furnace and burned to get rid of it.

The juice is conveyed to the evaporators, a hundred or more of them are required in large factories, and after reducing it to syrup it is conveyed to the vacuum pans and reduced to sugar. The crystallized sugar is separated from the mass of molasses in which it is imbedded by means of centrifugal force; the machines in which it is thus separated revolve with the rapidity of a spinning top, and the molasses passes out through a sieve while the sugar remains inside. By pouring water into the machines while they are in motion the last vestige of the molasses, which contains the coloring matter, can be washed from the sugar, which leaves it perfectly white. By passing the molasses through the evaporators and machines a second time another grade of sugar is made, and by repeating the process the last vestige of sugar can be extracted from the molasses. That is why the

sugar planter was so anxious for his jug before he left home. He wanted to get a jug of syrup before the sugar was extracted. Such syrup is a luxury unknown off the sugar plantations, for the sugar it contains would crystallize in transit and they cannot ship it.

After spending several hours pleasantly and seeing the whole process of making sugar, the planter and myself drove back home.

With the new syrup, and buckwheat cakes and hot waffles, it is needless to say that there was some good eating done at the supper table.

After supper the planter and I went into the library to smoke some cigars and gossip a litte before the ladies insisted on us going into the parlor; and I asked him why they did not invite the Northern farmers to come down and settle in Louisiana? He snuffed the ashes from his cigar and said:—

"What is the use to invite them? They've got no sense. If they had any sense they would come without inviting. The Abolitionists got mad because they could not divide up the Southern plantations into small Yankee farms and they went and settled themselves

in the North West. They are nothing but tenants up there raising wheat to build up Chicago. I tell you sir, the Republicans made scape goats of them, they are nothing but scape goats for the Yankees. Some of them found it out and about ten thousand have come down and settled with us. The Lake Charles settlement is full of them; they are nothing but scape goats."

The planter's good wife, who did not hear the full text of the conversation, came in and said:

"When I went to Lake Charles to see my sister several of those northern ladies who live there called to see me and I returned their call, and they are just as nice ladies as any, and here you are calling them scape goats. I think that you had better go into the parlor and hear the girls play the piano some instead of sitting in this smoking room gossiping so much, you have got so when you have any company you sit in this smoking room and gossip all day."

"There is no harm in that," said the planter. "We were talking about the Yankees."

"But, there is harm in it," said the good

lady, " for the habit will grow upon you until will talk about our own neighbors."

" Call the girls and tell them to go into the parior and play Yankee Doodle, and Dixie, and sing Hail Columbia." Said the planter.

After breakfast on the morning of the third day we went back into the library to smoke some cigars and gossip a little more.

Speaking of the Mississippians, the planter said:

" They need not be continually talking about what we do in Louisiana, every newspaper has something to say about what we do in this State. They make the negro pay the Protective Tariff Tax, and keep the mortgages off their farms too, and besides, they have pluck-me stores all over that State."

At this juncture of the conversation two negro girls came into the library with brooms and began to sweep and move furniture.

" What do you mean by rushing in here on me with your brooms so suddenly this morning?" said the planter.

" The Hawkins are coming, the Hawkins are coming," said one of the servants.

" Who are the Hawkins that you are sweeping me out doors for?" said the planter.

"I don't know, sir, but Missis told us to clean up this room and we are gwinter do it," said the other.

The Hawkins came and broke up the gossiping with the sugar planter, and I took the 10 o'clock train for New Orleans, and saw pluck-me stores at the stations and plantations all the way there.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN WHICH IS RECORDED A THOUSAND TRIFLING MATTERS, EQUALLY IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY TO THE RIGHT UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLITICAL HISTORY.

NO man occupies a more conspicuous place in the political history of this country than Abraham Lincoln, consequently it is important that the student of our history should follow his steps and avail himself of his ideas concerning political government.

Alex. H. Stephens, the great historian, says that he heard Mr. Lincoln, on the 12th day of January, 1848, make a speech in the House of Representatives. In it he used this language:

"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a sacred right—a right

which, we hope and believe, is to liberate the world.

"Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it.

"Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movements; such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolution not to go by old lines, or old laws; but to break up both and make new ones."

The political significance of that speech was sufficient to condemn Mr. Lincoln as a false philosopher, for everybody knows that the rising up and putting down theory has been in practice ever since Cain killed Abel, but the world is not liberated yet.

In the revolution that subsequently followed President Lincoln tried to separate the slaves from their masters, thinking that that was the true way to liberate men. He recognized the fact that the first step necessary to be taken

toward the ultimate colonization of the blacks was to break up the political institution of slavery. In 1862, he sent for and had an interview at the White House with the Representatives in Congress from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, upon the subject of abolishing slavery in their States. Speaking to them upon the subject he said:

"As long as you have the institution in your States the Southern people will claim you as a part of their proposed Confederacy. You and I know what the power of their lever is; break their lever before their faces and they can never shake you again, forever."

They replied that the Constitution authorized slavery in every State in the Union, and that he overstepped his authority by meddling with it anywhere.

They charged him with neglect of official duty and with violating his oath of office.

"We believe that, had you so desired, you could have stopped the war long ago," said they.

Mr. Lincoln, in reply to them, said:

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more, whenever I shall believe doing more

will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free."

We are told in the Institutes of Menu, the great lawgiver of India, who lived over 5000 years ago, that although the master may liberate his own slave, still he will be a slave, for it has been decreed by nature for some men to be reduced to the dominion of others. This is a harsh law, but it is a natural law and uncontradicted, for "a wayfaring man though he be a fool" knows that there are some men in all countries who by their industry and frugal habits accumulate property, while there are others who by their profligate habits or by accident lose what they have, consequently they have to work for other men; and it follows that they get tired of working for poor pay and in their struggles to relieve themselves they reason among one another that the laws are unjust, that the property of the whole country ought to belong to all of

the people in common, instead of the few, and the commune idea seizes their minds and induces them to revolutionize and "break up old laws and make new ones that suit them better."

There was no other man in the whole country, perhaps, who was better suited to advance the cause of communism than Abraham Lincoln himself. The family from which he was derived descended all along in obscurity and in his efforts to raise himself from it he made desperate struggles in early life to advance himself as a bar-room bully and crack target shot. After making himself proficient in these arts he read law and split rails. But that proved a slow and tedious process to him and he naturally concluded that dragging down others was the most expedient way of elevating himself and his friends, he therefore planned and tried with all the force that he could command to carry out the greatest commune movement of the century.

Had he succeeded in colonizing the negroes the Southern slave masters could not have paid the taxes on their large estates and they would have been compelled to have abandoned their lands to others on account of their

inability to cultivate the fields themselves. The same fate would have overtaken the farms in the North by the loss of their laborers moving southward to occupy the places of the deported slaves. The property of the whole country would indeed have been owned by the Abolitionists or Communists, for a while at least.

In utter violation of the Constitution of the United States the great Abolition President said:—"I shall adopt new views, so fast as they shall appear to be true views."

Among his "new views and true views" was compensation with emancipation. He thought that it was right to tax the people in Massachusetts to pay for slaves in Mississippi, just as all Communists think that it is right to take from one to give to another. The negro slaves lived under a Communistic form of government, and what they made was taken away from them by authority of the State and given to their masters, and what they received was rendered unto them by the State through paternalism administered to them by their masters. The political significance of Communism on the one and paternalism on the other hand is well understood in the

South, and while the Southern slave-masters were perfectly willing to administer it to the slaves they have always opposed it for the whites, for it destroys too much of the personal liberty of men. After breaking it up to liberate the blacks, Lincoln unwittingly recommended it to enslave the whites. He adhered to the right "as God gives us to see the right."

God gives idiots the same right, but the people will not allow them do to as they see right, neither did the South allow Lincoln to do as he saw right. When the Illinois rail-splitters rallied around him with fence rails on their shoulders, proclaiming to the South that they would "put the bottom rail on top," they might have known that Confederate flags would fly in the air. Men generally place themselves in history as fanatics by their own words. It stands on record in the Abolition Bible that Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe was in the Senate Chamber at Washington, and heard these words in the message of President Lincoln:

"If this struggle is be prolonged till there be not a house in the land where there is not one dead, till all the treasure amassed by the

unpaid labor of the slave shall be wasted, till every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be atoned by blood drawn by the sword,—we can only bow and say:

"Just and true are thy ways, Thou King of Saints."

When he was assassinated there was one dead in his house, and we could only bow and say:—

"Just and true are thy ways, Thou King of Saints."

God's Bible forbids us making slaves of our own race and in obedience to these divine laws the South made slaves of the negro race, the consequences show clearly that God himself is well pleased with our course, for the good influence of the blacks counteract the evil influence of the whites, as the good influence of the whites counteract the evil infiuence of the blacks. On that account the people of the North are indebted to the South for their social order. Remove the negro from the South and anarchy would rule the North until military force could suppress it. In all of the different countries in Europe where there are no negroes, standing armies are kept in time of peace to enforce obedience.

France keeps 500,000 soldiers in time of peace to enforce obedience to her social institutions, and physical force is the sole guarantee of her social order. Physical force is the sole guarantee of our social order, but we have our physical force in the labor of the Southern negro instead of 500,000 soldiers. When Northern men go on strikes and come down South the Southern can say, "I have my negro and his vote that you unwittingly made me a present of. Now, sir, if you do not do as I desire, you can go back North and work for your Yankee boss for just such wages as he sees fit to pay you."

The forces that control the Republic lie in the South, and when the scales fall from their eyes the Northern people will see that they must obey their Southern masters.

The refusal to admit negroes into the Territories resulted in war, and now negroes are in Kansas and every other State and Territory of the Union.

"The Southern negro on the Adirondacks and St. Lawrence Railroad is hoeing his own row."

The speaker was a member of the Enterprise Construction Company, which has a con-

tract for building about ninety miles of the road.

"This thing of bringing Southern negroes to the North," he added, "to compete with white labor is an experiment, but it appears to be a good one.

"The contractors have built roads all over the United States. In the South the laboring man is the negro. He applied for and obtained work. He was, if found capable, taken around the country and promoted as capability and faithfulness suggested. In this way the Company now has some two hundred negroes in its employ who have been faithful workers for the last ten years. They are thorough, practical railroad men.

"Although it was predicted that the negro would not be able to stand the cold climate, it has been found that he stands it better than the Italian, and that he does better work and more of it than any other race employed. He does his work in a "bang-up" style, there is nothing slip-shod.

"Some of the Company are Southerners. There is a certain fellow-feeling existing between these fine looking Southern negroes and their white employers, which is impossible for Northern men to understand."

The negro not only gives the Southern contractor a monopoly of work, but he can go with his negro laborers into the Northern States and underbid contractors there.

Had the builders of the Columbian Exposition buildings, at Chicago, employed negro stone-cutters, carpenters, brick-masons, and laborers from the South, instead of white men, it would have silenced the Anarchists in that city.

As fast as negroes are put in juxtaposition with white men North, Communism and Anarchy will recede; for the negro underbids the white man and forces him to elevate himself. He shuns the bar-room more and becomes more chaste in his habits; this he must do, for as soon as the negro supersedes him in doing the menial service he is compelled to elevate himself.

The same results South must necessarily follow in the North. The Southern people are called homogeneous, that is they are alike, and on that account they understand each other. Jefferson Davis always addressed them as "My people."

The negro gives the South her industrial independence and on that account but few

foreigners come among us, and they are quickly absorbed in the homogeneous population. The Normans, from whom the Southern people are chiefly derived, conquered France, conquered and civilized England, and their descendants in England settled the Southern colonies, conquered our independence, civilized the African, met the Puritan on the battle-field, and struck him a blow that staggered him in dismay. On the 4th day of July 1776, the South declared our independence, conquered it and administered the government according to her own notion until 1861. The North was with us it is true. But she virtually had no experience in administering government and consequently knew nothing of it, and rather than be pulled into the ditch by the blind fanatics of the North the Southern States seceded and formed a new Union of themselves called the Confederate States, and when the people of the North came upon them to oppose their political rights, they drew their sword and went to cutting them down. The Confederates accomplished the greatest military achievements that ever was known in the annals of history. In that memorable conflict, 700,000 Con-

federate soldiers, repelled 3,000,000 Federals for four years, killed 1,000,000 of them, and crippled the rest so it has cost the peaceful farmers of the North their homes to pension them. History does not show, when, or where, the Norman blood ever was conquered. It is absolutely invincible. It is true, they have on several occasions, laid down their arms, but never until they struck the enemy a desperate blow. That is why the Confederate soldiers would not surrender, even when they knew that the cause of the Confederacy was lost, for that was only an organized government to carry on the war for our Independence in or out of the Union, and they knew that by holding out longer they would cripple the North more, and by thus striking them a desperate blow, the South would be the victor when she re-entered the Union. With that view of the political situation the old Norman French blood in the Confederate soldiers kept on fighting, and when they surrendered the North was in debt three thousand millions of dollars. The Southern people are slave-masters and if they cannot conquer one way they will another; they knew that by putting them in debt it would

sap the very foundations of their homes to pay it and stop their aggressions. It has had the desired effect. It completely broke up the Abolition movement to colonize the negroes. The Confederates lost their property, it is true, but what did they care? They knew that they could make the negro work for them, whether bound or free, and replace it. The negro is a natural slaves, but he does not know it and consequently he is perfectly happy. But the Northern people have no negroes and they have to be their own "nigger," and the consequence of paying the war debt has reduced them to tenant farmers for other men just as the negroes are in the South. In addition they have legislated most unwisely and made bad matters worse, and they are just beginning to realize that something has gone wrong with them but it is wholly unaccountable to them on account of their imperfect knowledge of political affairs. They are just beginning to realize that the consequences of their usurpations are terminating disastrously to themselves.

The Puritans of the North, like their ancestors in England under the Cromwellian usurpation, have learned by experience that they

are wholly incompetent to administer political government. After making a signal failure in England they had to recall their banished King, Charles II., and re-established the constitutional government to secure themselves against their own weakness and folly.

As a governing class they ruled in England about twelve years, and they have ruled in this country from 1861 to the present time, which makes about forty-four years that they have ruled all told on both sides of the Atlantic.

Nothing but disastrous consequences to themselves could be expected of their usurpation in this country. They have unwittingly reduced themselves to tenant farmers all over the North and the West, and the highways in the South are thronged with Northern tramps begging bread of the well-fed negroes, while the millionaires they made are riding all over the country in their palace cars and moving their factories South.

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The institution of ostracism, of which there has been so much said of its infliction in the South, was a method which the Athenians had devised for the purpose of getting rid of ob-

noxious public men; and was in some respects a very good plan, as it stopped interminable quarrels between rival politicians.

It derived its name from the fact that the citizens, in voting for its infliction, wrote the name of the objectionable person on a shell (osteron), and if there was a majority of votes for his banishment, he was expelled for ten years.

The conflict between Aristides and Themistocles became at last so sharp that the Athenians finally voted to ostracize Aristides. Among those who voted were many, no doubt, whose hostility had been aroused by the stern probity of Aristides, who was known at "the Just."

The story is true to nature, that when the vote of ostracism was being taken an unlettered citizen not knowing Aristides, asked him to write for him on the shell.

"And what name shall I write?"

"Aristides."

"And pray, what wrong has Aristides done you?"

"Oh, none, but I am tired of always hearing him called the Just."

While Grover Cleveland is unquestionably

a just man, we are tired of hearing him called "the just." What we want is a Southern Democrat, and what we will have is a Southern Democrat. Nominate a Southern Democrat for the Presidency and it will break up the interminable quarrels in New York over Cleveland and Hill.

If there are any in the North who would oppose the nomination of a Southern Democrat in the National Convention, let the South nominate a candidate herself and vote solid for him. Such a course taken by the South would put an end to the interminable quarrels they keep up year in and year out.

If there are any in the North who are mad with the South and would refuse to vote for a Southern Democrat on that account, let them stay mad.

"He will not repent and ask for a pardon," said the North.

"I have done nothing to ask a pardon for," replied Mr. Davis.

Now let the South follow his example and make no apologies whatever—none for Rum, Romanism and Rebellion, much less for fighting for Democracy or political equality of white men. Until the Northern people learn

what Democracy is, they have no claim whatever for the nominee. Then nominate a Southern Democrat for the Presidency even if it makes the North as mad as the three political parties were casting out devils.

Three political principles make up the Democratic, Republican and Abolition ideas of political government in this country.

The Republican party or, money power, in the North, watched for years the political significance of slavery in the South. They saw that the slaves were perfectly contented and happy under the political influence of paternalism. They knew that the soil is the chief source of all wealth, and that the Southern slave-masters reaped the full harvest of the fields. They studied for years how to attain the same results for themselves in the North.

They first tried the allurements of paternalism, but South Carolina nullified it. After that they changed the political status of the slaves and made them tenant farmers in the South. The Southern slave-masters, now landlords, continued to reap the full harvest of the fields from their tenants. Then the Republicans began to practice paternalism in the North in order to attain a like result themselves.

They first appropriated to themselves for the railroads, an area of the public domain equal in extent to that of the original thirteen colonies. They paid out of the common treasury, bounties, pensions, and appropriations, under pretense of internal improvements, all of which has called for more taxes from time to time, which the great masses of the Northern people have kindly submitted to under the political influence of paternalism. In this the farmers of the Northern States have exhibited no more intelligence than the Southern negroes who were perfectly contented in slavery under the allurements of paternalism. Indeed it has been the boast of the Southern slave-masters that they have advanced the negroes to a higher degree of intelligence than the average white laborer of the North.

The question that now comes home to the Northern and Western farmers is how to save their homes. Raising good crops will not save them, for the money power can increase taxes and dispossess them of all they make—the McKinley bill for instance, nor will changing political parties save them, for the tempter is in Washington.

When the Northern people resorted to a

higher power than the Constitution to crush the South they did not know that that same power would crush them also.

The New England people are the fathers of the money power in the North, but they did not know that its unlimited restrictions would crush New England. The cotton crop spun and printed would bring a thousand millions of dollars a year. They are now moving the machinery from New England to the South where they can get the full benefit of all the different products of the plant. The lint to make cloth, the seed to make oil, butter and cheese, oil cake and meal, and paper stock to make paper, and seed hulls to burn to make steam to run the machinery and make ashes to make lye to make soap with, all of which is made from cotton delivered to the mills in the South by wagons from the field.

When you sit down to king cotton's table in the South you have on your suit of cotton clothes, and a cotton table-cloth spread before you, and salad oil, and butter and cheese to eat, and a bar of soap to wash your clothes with, and paper to write your letters on—all of which is made from cotton.

The very measures taken by the Northern

people to increase the money power, insured their own downfall, and now they must either give up the Protective Tariff Tax, or become tenant farmers just as the negroes are in the South, and if they give up the Tariff, the South will get the factories.

We are now living in the new Republic that Abraham Lincoln unwittingly founded in 1861, on the ruins of George Washington's Republic. "We are soon to have peace, and the question of how to dispose of the negroes will first have to be attended to," said Mr. Lincoln. Yes, the question of how to dispose of him had to be first attended to. The Republicans had him killed after using him to conquer the South and they served him exactly right for the question that concerned them most was how to dispose of the barbarians they used to conquer the South with and they disposed of them most effectually by enfranchising the blacks. The Romans enlisted their brutal classes to subdue other nations with. The siege and sack of Jerusalem was fun for them and the same brutal force afterwards leveled Rome. The white barbarians of the North would level this country if it were not for the negroes in the South. But

when they come down South they see that the negroes are not black white men as their enfranchisement implies, but that they are negroes at work, trained in the arts of peace by their masters, and they are told to tramp on; that if they were virtuous men they would not be tramping about the country. When they tramp back to the North with blistered feet they realize that the South has the "diadem of power." Such men delight in war and they despise the occupations of peace, that is why they tramp all over the country. But Sherman's raid is perhaps the last opportunity that they will ever have to plunder in this country. From this time forward they will be forced to work for their own class superiority in the Northern States. When they are employed in the occupations of peace they boast that they can do more work than the Southern negro. Nature has endowed them with great physical endurance but very little brains. Under these conditions can the South blame the enlightened of the North for taxing them out of all they make?

THE END.

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